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SOCIAL PROTECTION, RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ETHIOPIA:

An Examination of the Potential for Developing Employment Generation Schemes

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Peter James Middlebrook

This thesis is presented in fulfilment of the requirements for a
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Durham



Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies

2002

17 SEP 2002

PETER J MIDDLEBROOK:- Social Protection, Rural Development and the Role of Public Administration in Ethiopia: An Examination of the Potential for Developing Employment Generation Schemes

ABSTRACT

Over fifty per cent of the population of Ethiopia live below the poverty line and are therefore food insecure. Increasingly viewed as an important component of poverty reduction, social protection policies, such as the promotion of labour intensive public works, can serve as a springboard for pro-poor growth and a foundation for social risk management.

The research assesses the Ethiopian Employment Generation Scheme (EGS) in the context of Amhara and Tigray regional states through comparative research into Maharashtra experience. The aim of the research is to assess the implementation of EGS programmes against the objectives of the national policy and to examine the role of public administration in delivering social protection through EGS thereby reducing poverty levels by supporting sustainable rural livelihoods. The national policy seeks to effectively harness a potential 150 million labour days on the basis of existing relief resources alone thereby creating livelihood assets.

However, social protection is often considered to be a high cost, low returns component of democratic governance. Experience highlights poor performance in planning and implementation. Reforms must be based on informed and applied study of the areas explored in the research: policy frameworks; implementation; organisational responsibilities; programme efficiency, effectiveness and relevance; short and long term impact; and, sustainability. Such research necessitates a sensitive combination of qualitative and quantitative methods.

Research findings show that the national policy provides an appropriate pro-poor framework for employment provision and asset creation while essential supportive measures have been neglected. Grassroots administrations remain incapacitated and central support for reform is often lacking. The research establishes a clear set of conclusions and recommendations for reform acknowledging the requirement for a decentralised, demand driven approach to policy design and expenditure management which promotes the comparative advantage of the poor and mainstreams EGS into other strategies for poverty reduction.

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Declaration

This research has been conducted independently. All research findings have been derived from direct observation or measurement based on the methodology detailed herein. All secondary data and information sources have been quoted in full, to the best of the author's knowledge, and no attempt has been made to falsify information.

I declare that none of the material contained within the thesis has previously been submitted for a degree to Durham or any other university.

Peter Middlebrook

Acronyms

| | |
|---------|--|
| AAU | Addis Ababa University |
| ACP | African, Caribbean and Pacific States |
| ADLI | Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation |
| ANRS | Amhara National Regional State |
| ARP | Agricultural Rehabilitation Programme |
| BoANR | Bureau of Agriculture and Natural Resources |
| BoPED | Bureau of Planning and Economic Development |
| CFW | Cash for Work |
| CILLS | Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel |
| CISP | International Community for the Protection of Peoples |
| CoSAERT | Commission for Sustainable Agricultural and Environmental Rehabilitation of Tigray |
| CSA | Central Statistical Authority |
| DA | Development Agent |
| DFID | UK - Department for International Development |
| DGVIII | European Commission Directorate General for Development |
| DIA | Dutch Inter-Church Aid |
| DPPB | Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau |
| DPPC | Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission |
| DPPD | Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Department |
| EBSN | Employment Based Safety Net |
| EC | European Commission |
| ECHO | European Commission Humanitarian Office |
| EFSR | Emergency Food Security Reserve |
| EFSRA | Emergency Food Security Reserve Administration |
| EGS | Employment Generation/Guarantee Scheme |
| EPLF | Eritrean People's Liberation Front |
| ERAD | Environmental and Agricultural Rehabilitation Department |
| ETB | Ethiopian Birr (€1 = 8.2 ETB February 2002) |
| EWS | Early Warning System |
| FAD | Food Availability Decline |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN |
| FDRE | Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia |
| FED | Food Entitlement Decline |
| FFR | Food for Recovery |
| FFW | Food For Work |
| FHH | Female Headed Households |
| FSR | Food Security Reserve |
| FSS | Food Security Strategy |
| FSU | Food Security Unit |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GMRP | Grain Market Research Project |
| GNP | Gross National Product |
| GoE | Government of Ethiopia |
| GoM | Government of Maharashtra |
| GTZ | German Development Cooperation |
| HA | Home Agent |
| ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross |
| IFC | Indian Famine Commission |
| IFSP | Integrated Food Security Programme |
| IGA | Income Generating Activity |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |

| | |
|----------|--|
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IPP | Internal Purchase Programme |
| IRR | Internal Rate of Return |
| ITSH | Internal Transport Storage and Handling |
| LFA | Logical Framework Approach |
| LFSU | EC's Local Food Security Unit |
| LIPW | Labour Intensive Public Works |
| LLPPA | Local Level Participatory Planning Approach |
| LRD | Linking Relief and Development |
| LWF | Lutheran World Federation |
| MEDAC | Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation |
| MOV | Means of Verification |
| MPP | Micro-Projects Programme |
| MTEF | Medium Term Expenditure Framework |
| NAO | National Authorising Officer |
| NDPPS | National Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Strategy |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| NIP | National Indicative Programme |
| NPDPM | National Policy for Disaster Prevention and Management |
| ODA | Oversees Development Assistance |
| OVI | Objectively Verifiable Indicators |
| PADETS | Participatory Agricultural Development and Extension Training System |
| PCM | Project Cycle Management |
| PFP | Policy Framework Paper |
| PGE | Provisional Government of Ethiopia |
| PHRD | Policy and Human Resource Development |
| PMS | Preparation, Monitoring and Supervision |
| PRA | Participatory Rural Appraisal |
| PRSP | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper |
| RCST | Rural Credit Scheme of Tigray |
| REST | Relief Society of Tigray |
| RFO | Relief food Outlet |
| RRD | Relief and Rehabilitation Department |
| RWSD | Rural Water Supply Development |
| SCF (UK) | Save the Children Fund of United Kingdom |
| SNNP | Southern Nation's Nationalities and People |
| SWC | Soil and Water Conservation |
| TDA | Tigray Development Association |
| TGE | Transitional Government of Ethiopia |
| TNRS | Tigray National Regional State |
| TPLF | Tigray People's Liberation Front |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Programme |
| UNEUE | United Nations Emergency Unit for Ethiopia |
| USAID | United State Agency for International Development |
| WFP | World Food Programme |
| WHO | World Health Organisation |

Table of Units

| | |
|------|------------------------|
| mt | Metric Tonnes |
| Km | Kilometres |
| ha | Hectare (10,000 sq. m) |
| Kcal | Kilo Calories |

Acknowledgement

I have profited greatly from suggestions and criticisms made by Prof. E.W. Anderson on earlier drafts and notes and during the two field trips he made to join me in Ethiopia. The exchanges of opinions and ideas over the years have enriched the research. In fact I have known Ewan professionally for years prior to this research and it was a respect for his work that led to this present thesis. The research based discussion has been supplemented by evenings discussing on subjects as wide as employment generation, world peace, democracy, religion, rugby union and Indian cookery. I know that our friendship and working relationship will endure beyond the timeframe of this thesis and certainly after this research is gathering dust on our bookshelves. Thanks for the generosity, support, and intellectual advances and above all, friendship.

I have also benefited substantially from the work of international scholars such as Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze who's work spans decades and has changed the global understanding of poverty and its alleviation. Other inspiration has been derived from the work of Martin Ravallion, Alex de Waal, Joachim von Braun, Tesfaye Teklu, Patrick Webb, Simon Maxwell, Phil O'Keefe, Ed Clay and Stephen Devereux among others.

While undertaking this research I have maintained a close working relationship and friendship with many Ethiopian government colleagues among who Sebhat Nega, Teklervoini Assefa (REST), Tewoldebirhan Woldegerima, Deres Abdul Kadir, Checkol Kidane, Mengesha Haile, Yohannes Mekonnen and Abu Yadetta seem most important although many others have provided inspiration. Again, a special mention must go to Deres Abdulkedir for his support and friendship and to colleagues such as Ali Said and Meheret Bizuneh for hours of related discussion and frustration.

I have also received useful counsel and suggestions from my colleagues in the European Commission, Karl Harbo (Head of Delegation and now my Task force leader in Afghanistan), Dr. Hansjorg Neun in particular, Claudia Wiedey, Pascal Johannes, Franco Conzato, Zissimos Vergos (again a special mention) and others too numerous to mention. From the UK Department for International Development (DFID) important discussion and inputs from Abi Masefield and Dr. Kenny Dick. In addition, Meg Brown (USAID), Doug Clements (CIDA) and the other colleagues of the donors Food Security and Agricultural Committee in Ethiopia have provided important ideas for discussion. Organisations worth mentioning for support and inspiration include the Relief Society of Tigray, the European Commission, UK-Department for International Development, International Food Policy Research Institute, Institute of Development Studies, Overseas Development Institute, International Labour Organisation, World Food Programme, World Institute for Development and Economic Research, Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), United Nations Development Programme and ETC (UK).

I need to thank in particular my family for their sturdy support over the years and to my parents for their genetic contribution. Without them, it goes without saying, none of this would have been possible. Greatest love and support has, however, come from my partner Abi Masefield, in her own right a senior international figure on food security, and my two kids, Ami and Amba, and all who have tolerated ups and downs, ins and outs, first drafts and second drafts, late nights and early mornings and even worse things. Without their constant support and tolerance this work might have proved to be too much - as it nearly did.

Again, thanks to Abi, too a senior policy advisor on food security for UK DFID, for constant companionship in our travels, and to her invaluable suggestions throughout the working drafts of this thesis. You remain an inspiration.

Glossary of Terms

Absolute Poverty: Given as the income level below which a nutritionally adequate diet plus essential non-food requirements are not affordable.

Absorptive Capacity: In general economic development analysis the idea that productivity from new investment is a declining function of the rate of investment. In commodity assistance, the ability of a receiving institution to adequately store and distribute goods to vulnerable groups in a timely manner. The level of food aid that can be absorbed by a local economy without causing price distortion.

Ancillary Costs: Costs associated to food aid and other food security inputs classified either as ITSH costs (see ITSH), Preparation, Monitoring and Supervision Costs (PMS) or programme support.

Beneficiaries: Asset-benefited: A person or group of persons, who at the end of food assistance owns or has the right to use, assets created or improved by the activity. Food-benefited: Individuals in the household of the work-benefited person, who are likely to share in eating the food earned through the activity. Work-benefited: A person or group of persons receiving food in exchange for his, her or their work.

Bilateral Assistance: Commodity or financial aid given by a donor country directly to a recipient country.

Cash for Work: Payment in cash in exchange for labour in labour intensive public works schemes.

Directorate General for Development DGVIII: The European Commission is the protectorate of the Treaty of the European Union (Maastricht). However, in order to fulfil its work a number of directorate generals, with specific areas of authority, have been established. The directorate general responsible for all development cooperation relations with non-EU members states is known as DGVIII.

Disaster Management: All aspects of planning for and responding to disasters, including the risks and consequences of disasters.

Disaster Mitigation: Measures taken to minimise the destructive and disruptive effects of threatening events, thus lessening the magnitude of a disaster. Such measures can be of different kinds, ranging from physical measures such as flood defences or safe building design, to legislation, training and public awareness. Mitigation can take place at any time: before disasters occur, during an emergency, after a disaster, and during recovery and reconstruction.

Disaster Preparedness: Measures that ensure the readiness and ability to forecast a threatening event and take precautionary action respond to and cope with the effects of a disaster by organising and delivering timely and effective assistance

Disincentive Effect: The disincentive effect of food aid refers to the negative impact in targeted communities on food production. Observable impacts include discouraging domestic production, monetisation of food aid inputs at below market prices, food subsidies that increase urbanisation, food for work discouraging farmers from fulfilling their usual seasonal activities related to crop production, and a country (Ethiopia) being now structurally dependent on food imports.

Employment Generation Scheme (EGS): In Ethiopia, EGS is the term used for labour intensive public works schemes, planned in a participatory manner, utilising relief resources and targeted towards the able bodied sections of vulnerable communities. However, an employment generation scheme can range from a small scale informal community based revolving loan scheme to a large labour intensive public works scheme employment up to 20,000 daily labourers.

Entitlements: The term largely engendered by Amartya Sen whereby entitlements are seen as social and economic claims on goods or services. A range of entitlements have been identified that broadly relate to having access to and command over both productive and non productive assets.

Evaluation: A task carried out once activity results begin to materialise. It aims to measure what the activity has achieved and its effects on the intended target group. Evaluations are typically carried out after an activity is completed, but can also be conducted in the course of an activity. Evaluations rely on data collected during monitoring; analysis of changes in food security, economic and/or social benefits; and analysis who is being affected by or receiving these benefits. Ex-post evaluation normally refers to the process of conducting a comprehensive review of overall achievements in relation to planned achievements. The evaluation is usually undertaken 1-2 years after the official project closing date given the requirement to establish an appreciation of sustainability.

Famine Early Warning System: A system of collecting and analysing trends in socio-economic, climatic, behavioural and production figures so as to predict a period of food shortage triggering famine.

Federal Block Grant: To overcome horizontal and vertical fiscal imbalances an annual grant is provided to the different regions to support capital and recurrent expenditure.

Food Aid and Non Food Inputs: Food Aid includes edible commodities donated to needy populations. Non-food inputs include a comprehensive range of inputs now broadly financed under integrated food security operations. Such inputs include cash for work, seeds, fertilisers, tools, other equipment etc.

Food Aid Cost Effectiveness: The decision to use food aid as the optimum means to restore/strengthen livelihoods and self-reliance. The social cost-effectiveness of food aid considers: reaching the intended beneficiaries i.e., disadvantaged women, promoting their options and opportunities through participation in the management of food and control over the utilisation of the assets created; the economic competitiveness of food aid compared to other resources; the value of the food to the beneficiary in the local market compared to the cost to donors and the Government of delivering food aid; and, the influence on food and labour markets.

Food Entitlements Decline: The process of breakdown for claims on or access to food, as an explanation for the precipitation of famine as opposed to food supply failure.

Food For Work: Food wages to participant/beneficiaries in exchange for work (usually labour) inputs.

Food Security: The World Bank definition usually applied is "access by all people at all times for enough food for an active and healthy life". EuronAid states "Food security is an economic question of access to resources through land, income and other entitlements, and not only a question of distribution of consumption".

Food Self Sufficiency: In recent years the concept of food self sufficiency is used when measuring a population's share of domestic production out of total consumption.

Internal Purchase Programme (IPP): The purchasing of commodities from within a country where they will also be distributed. In Ethiopia, the IPP purchases surplus production from surplus producing areas for supply to the Food Security Reserve (FSR). The FSR acts as a buffer to preposition food inputs in disaster affected areas and therefore allows projects to receive food inputs in a timely manner.

Kushet: In Tigray this is the smallest administrative unit.

Labour Market Displacement: The potential discouragement of beneficiaries to seek/develop alternative sources of employment in the private/public labour market.

Logical Framework Analysis: The LFA is an analytical tool for project planning through which the planner identifies unambiguous objectives, purposes, inputs and expected activities/outputs. The horizontal logic involves the clear definition of objectively verifiable indicators, means of verification, key assumptions related to the vertical logic, means, costs and pre-conditions.

Market Failure: A term referring to either imperfect competition in a market economy or where needs are not satisfied from available supplies or productive capacity. A monopoly is regarded as market failure.

Market Integration: The capacity for surplus production in one area to be successfully transported, marketed and sold in another area of deficit production. Such a capacity requires

both infrastructure development and market development through either private traders or government trade enterprises.

Mitigation: Prevention, early warning and amelioration. In the context of Ethiopia this usually includes the early allocation of food inputs targeted towards labour intensive public works, gratuitous relief and market stabilisation.

Monetisation: The sale of food aid to raise revenues in local currency within a recipient country. The funds generated are referred to as counterpart funds and are usually utilised to co-finance capital inputs for development projects. However, monetisation is also utilised in order to assist traders, markets and food import capacities or to stabilise commodity process.

Monitoring Indicators: The act of observing and recording, in a critical manner, project implementation including tracking the delivery of food and non food inputs, delivery, end-utilisation and targeting, the changing makeup and needs of vulnerable groups and indicators of the impact of the intervention.

Monitoring: The process of observing and documenting in quantitative and qualitative terms either the delivery process of a project or the impact (end result). Monitoring is a task conducted continuously by managers to keep track of progress in meeting the objectives of the activity; planned physical results; planned financial commitments; and planned implementation modalities. Along with following the progress of work, measured against a baseline situation, monitoring is concerned with the efficiency with which progress is being made.

Natural Disaster: Threatening event bringing about a serious disruption of the functioning of society, and causing widespread human, material and environmental losses that exceed the ability of the affected society to cope using only its own resources.

Project Cycle Management (PCM): PCM is a management method for co-ordinating the different requirements at different stages of the project cycle. The classic cycle includes project appraisal, finance, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The integrated approach to PCM involves the combined use of PCM and the logical framework approach (see above).

Qualitative Indicators: People's perception, such as opinions regarding alterations in levels of participation and consideration of peoples needs. Data can be collected during monitoring visits and/or through special studies. In many cases qualitative indicators can be quantified. For example, the frequency of women attending meetings, making proposals, seeing proposals reflected in work plans.

Quantitative Indicators: Numerical measurement of change, such as comparing the planned against actual number of women food recipients, physical outputs created, food distributed, training courses completed, number of committees formed, number of women/men members, etc.

Region: There are 10 regions in Ethiopia as follows: Tigray (Region 1), Afar (Region 2), Amhara (Region 3), Oromia (Region 4), Somalia (Region 5), Benshangul (Region 6), Southern nations nationalities and peoples (SNNMPR) (Regions 7), Gambela (Region 8), Harar (Region 9) and Addis Ababa (Region 10).

Restoration/Improvement of Livelihoods: When the relief task of saving lives is accomplished, a donor-assisted recovery programme is to enable people to: rebuild self-reliance and restore positive coping mechanisms; restore social cohesion and human capacities, building on the important contributions of women to this process; develop better access to food by strengthening local food distribution and marketing systems; and, create/restore productive capacity and physical infrastructure to provide direct benefits to the targeted groups, address constraints and provide income and time for further development activities

Risk: Description of areas, communities, groups that are exposed to known threatening events, and are likely to become negatively affected.

Safety Nets: Temporary food or cash assistance to complement coping strategies, where and when needed, to address periodic shortages without losing assets or reducing assets or consumption to an unhealthy level.

Sustainable Livelihood: A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets, (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood might be considered sustainable when it can cope with and cover from shocks and stresses, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide net benefits to other livelihoods locally and more widely, both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. (After IDS Sustainable Livelihoods Research programme)

Tabia (Peasant Association): The tabia of peasant association is a smaller administrative unit than the Woreda with a population of between 4,000 - 5,000 inhabitants

Targeting: The process of defining specific target groups as participants or beneficiaries in development interventions. Targeting can be by geographic concentration, vulnerable group (women, elderly, disabled etc.), sex, status, health or by household income.

Watts Curve: Named after Michael Watt the model describes the sequence of household coping strategies particularly related to food shortages. Early coping changes such as diet change, use of famine foods, borrowing, sale of household items, off farm waged labour are common and later stages include selling livestock, farmland, implements and out migration.

Woreda: The Woreda is a geographical administration unit normally populated by approximately 110,000 inhabitants. There are 556 Woredas in Ethiopia.

Zone: A Zone usually includes between 8-10 Woredas and is second in scale only to the region. There are 66 Zones in Ethiopia

Preface

Despite increased international commitment to solve the problems of chronic poverty, of which food insecurity¹ is an indicator, the scale of impoverishment outstrips current efforts and resources. It seems appropriate to suggest therefore that the increased incidence of livelihood failure in many countries reflect failed policies at the level of national governments, the international community, donors as well as relief and development agencies. As chronic poverty can not be easily purged, social protection through employment based safety nets remain an important policy consideration if democratic rights to food and shelter are to be achieved. However, a welfare state remains out of the reach of most African economies, with a low taxation base and many households meeting subsistence needs only. As resources remain restricted, the increased importance of achieving higher efficiency in public service delivery remains an important issue.

In Ethiopia, much of the work on household and national food self sufficiency emphasises the significance of increasing production through changes in agricultural policy; but policies are less clear when it comes to the issue of stimulating demand and building purchasing power through employment. Disaster agencies have tended to view food insecurity as an 'event' and caused by deviations in 'normal' production conditions. Governments and international organisations involved in poverty reduction programmes place greater attention on financial disbursement and numbers of beneficiaries in the target group over and above the actual impact needed to turn around the overall economic situation of disenfranchised groups. This research takes as its starting point the need to view disasters as a process² of steady impoverishment and on a model of social-causality where capabilities, opportunities and security determine the individual stories of people falling below the poverty line.

The central argument of this research is that poverty reduction strategies need to be informed by both past and current experience if they are to build on strengths, overcome weaknesses and explore opportunities. The best way to do this is to review policy, institutional and implementation constraints affecting different governmental and non governmental agencies implementing programmes in different contexts. Such research would however clearly benefit from comparisons of different country experiences as well as comparisons between regions within Ethiopia. That both Ethiopia and India are implementing similar EGS³ programmes with varying degrees of success presented an ideal opportunity for such a comparative research.

¹ The UK Department for International Development (DFID) is currently developing a British Government Strategy Paper on Food Security to support the new White Paper on making Globalisation work for the Poor.

² The distinction is made between quick onset disasters as an 'event' and slow onset disasters as a 'process'. Disasters had previously been considered, a priori, an event largely because the investigation concerned physically measurable deviations from 'normal' conditions. However, these 'events' were seen to have certain clearly definable causal nexus which pointed to underlying vulnerabilities and inherent tendencies.

³ The Maharashtra programme is entitled the Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) because the 'cash cow' of Mumbai provides sufficient revenue for the state to guarantee employment in rural areas. In Ethiopia, as resources are insufficient to deal with the potential scale of demand it has been termed an Employment Generation Scheme.

To overcome the main bottlenecks restricting the potential of the intervention (policy, planning capacity, resources, fund allocation procedures etc.) in contributing towards poverty reduction the following key questions will be addressed by the research. What has been the international experience of EGS and in particular the experience of the Maharashtra EGS in India in planning and implementation? How does this compare to the Ethiopian experience with EGS since the introduction of the NPDPM in 1993 and DPPC EGS Guidelines in 1997? What is the most appropriate methodological framework for assessing the impact (realised and potential) of the programme? What are the major constraints at a policy and institutional and implementation level of the Ethiopian EGS and how can they be overcome? What major lessons are to be learned at both policy and institutional and implementation levels? How effective and efficient are labour intensive public works in contributing towards food security? What are the latent opportunities of the programme and how can these opportunities be successfully addressed?

Detailed research, seeking answers to these questions, will gradually reduce uncertainty in the field of study and enable decision makers to design better informed policies in all sectors so that a gradual switch from capital to labour intensive works, through significant relief resources, which meets both food security and development objectives can take place. The thesis will bring together the seemingly disparate areas of policy and institutional and implementation research by complementing strategic analysis with grassroots level research.

Justification for the Research

The food shortages ('famines') of 1956, 1972, 1984, 1994 and 2000 in particular were the last in a long succession of entitlement failures that prompted the ITV news reporter Michael Buerk to state famously "this is a famine of truly biblical proportions" (ITV, October 1984). Since 1984 high levels of food insecurity have been matched by correspondingly high levels of food aid. The international community has imported over 1,000,000 mt of cereals to Ethiopia on 3 occasions to support the immediate food needs of over 6.5 million needy people. Since 1994, an average of 2.9 million households have required some kind of relief assistance every year.

The government of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) ushered in an era of market liberalisation and agricultural led industrialisation after seizing power in 1991. The Government realised that food deficit producing areas, where land holdings average less than ½ ha for a family of 5, will continue to need assistance to fill the food gap for many years to come. This realisation prompted a call for greater targeting, improved disaster management and implementation capacities so that eventually all available relief resources are mobilised in favour of development activities that address the root causes of the poverty problem. In 1993 the government introduced a National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Management (NPDPM) in order to tackle the problems of chronic and transitory food insecurity, of which the EGS was a cornerstone. The NPDPM "defines the framework for the planning and implementation of EGS throughout the country by both

governmental and non-governmental bodies.”⁴ The principles of the national policy are as follows:

- a) The community shall play the leading role in the planning, programming, implementation and evaluation of all relief projects;
- b) Precedence shall be given to areas where lives and livelihoods are more threatened;
- c) There shall be clearly defined focal points of action ... and centers of coordination shall be properly empowered; and,
- d) Relief must be addressed to the most needy at all times and no free distribution of aid be allowed to able-bodied affected population.

Since 1993, while there has been substantial progress in Ethiopia in relation to food security issues and National Food Security Strategies (FSS) followed in 1996 and regional food security strategies in 1999. However, the national EGS programme appears to remain in its infancy. The major focal points of the present system, which are implicit in the national policy objectives and guidelines, include a focus towards a) minimising gratuitous relief to the non-able bodied only, b) targeted EGS programmes for the able bodied, c) linking Relief to Development (LRD), d) strengthening the safety net approach, e) maximising community involvement in decisions making. Key programme strategies included a) people's participation, b) the relief / development nexus, c) sustainable agriculture, d) community-based conservation and development of natural resources, e) gender-sensitivity analysis and synthesis of programme actions; and f) human development and entrepreneurship. Other well documented problems affecting the effectiveness of EGS include:

- a) Lack of policy awareness and familiarisation of most implementing agencies and local communities;
- b) Planning and implementation capacities are insufficient to meet objectives and EGS is not integrated into line department or local area plans;
- c) The EGS remains very much an informal safety net and resources and planning are seldom adequately in place;
- d) Food aid continues to be distributed gratuitously and public works remain the exception, not the norm;
- e) Targeting of workers through 'self selection mechanisms' is not utilised as it is in Maharashtra and targeting errors remain unacceptably high.
- f) Active community involvement in appraisal of project ideas, planning, implementation and monitoring is insufficient;
- g) Projects focus on conservation works without integration into micro-watershed development and the development of important economic infrastructure;
- h) The disaster preparedness fund, central to the original programme design, has yet to be firmly established;
- i) The capacities for planning and implementation in the public administration remain poor.

⁴ DPPC EGS Guidelines, 1997

- a) Clearly, many enabling measures needed for the efficient and effective implementation of the programme are still not adequately in place and retard the overall dynamic created by the national policy. In both national policy and programme document it is clearly stated that an integrated approach to the formulation and implementation of relief programmes will be adopted and that relief should also serve the goals of development.

The significance of the area being researched is that EGS, if properly planned and implemented can address many of the root causes of rural vulnerability and perhaps pave the way for poverty reduction as has been in the Maharashtra EGS programme established since 1972. However, there has been relative neglect at the level of federal and regional administrations which is both morally unacceptable and incomprehensible given the urgency of addressing the issue of rural livelihoods. Detailed assessments of the most appropriate mode of implementation of EGS have not been conducted and both policy and institutional and implementation lessons need to be drawn so that the programme achieves its stated relief and development objectives. If successful, well planned EGS works have the capability of assisting communities to rebuild important economic infrastructure and raise levels of seasonal employment i.e. improve rural livelihoods.

Research Aims

Overall Aim: To assess the potential to overcome the problems highlighted above, the research aim is to assess the implementation of EGS programmes against the objectives of the national policy and to examine the role of public administration in delivering social protection through EGS thereby reducing poverty levels by supporting sustainable rural livelihoods.

Enabling Sub-Aims: To assist in achieving the overall research aim the following enabling sub-aims will be systematically achieved. These are to:

- a) introduce the reader to the research and overview objectives, methods and research results;
- b) present the research framework adopted for the research in Ethiopia as well as to provide a comparative assessment of the Ethiopian experience of EGS in the context of both Indian and sub-Saharan Africa case studies;
- c) critically assess current academic and applied literature related to poverty, food insecurity, EGS and Labour Intensive Public Works (LIPW) in order to identify areas where further research remains to be done. Further research issues are also identified;
- d) Present, on the basis of the literature review, a philosophical approach to food insecurity and EGS which allows a clear understanding of the nature of the problems being addressed, through income and expenditure models, supply and demand analysis and detailing policy and institutional options for EGS programming and implementation;
- e) propose a suitable methodology, linking policy and institutional and implementation elements, whereby EGS as a case in question can be exhaustively assessed at both a political and field level;
- f) present the key findings and results of the policy and institutional research;
- g) present the key findings and results of the implementation research;

- h) discuss thoroughly, in the context of the research and international framework, the finding of the research, linkage between policy and institutional and implementation elements and to assess their significance on the implementation of the Ethiopian EGS.
- i) extract relevant conclusions and point to recommendations and future research prospects.

Comparisons with the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) are important because the Ethiopian programme was modeled on the Indian experience. In Maharashtra, social protection remains an important element of democracy and democratic rights have been steadily protected through programmes such as EGS. In Ethiopia, where similar social objectives have been set, the relatively poor performance in planning and implementation calls for policy and institutional reforms based on informed and applied research; to protect the nature of human rights and democracy itself. Poor programme performance directly affects the longer term prospects for recovery of poor people living below the poverty line; as the rate of capital formation and growth in income remain insufficient to provide sufficient means for a sustainable livelihood.

The results of the research will provide invaluable information to assist policy makers in programming a more formal, cost-efficient and therefore effective safety net, in support of the new National Poverty Reduction Strategy. In addition, through the identification of current performance bottlenecks the research will assist in developing more effective procedures, based on the principles of self targeted cash based transfers, to enhance the purchasing power of vulnerable groups.

Within Government I hope the research findings will be of most benefit to the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC), the regional food security units and line departments involved in the planning and implementation of EGS. It will also assist policy makers at the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation (MEDaC), many of whom I have developed a close working relationship with. Within international cooperation partners, although especially the European Commission and UK Department for International Development (DFID), the research findings have already influenced the design of new programmes in Amhara and Tigray and has influenced the interpretation of EGS policy in Ethiopia.

Methodology

The chosen methodology is sufficiently dynamic to reflect the rigours of the research and therefore combines both qualitative and quantitative elements. The methodology provides a platform upon which a cluster of assumptions can be tested and verified. Consideration is made of the assumption that development discourses have been constructed around a diverse range of perspectives which stem from different theories of knowledge production. Accordingly, EGS will be viewed differentially among practitioners coming from different educational backgrounds and subjects. Therefore, an EGS programme is not a fixed entity but rather one dependent on the views and perspectives of different stakeholders. EGS has an economic, political, social, gender, managerial and philosophical basis demanding a suitably flexible methodology.

Research into the different policy, institutional and implementation characteristics of the Ethiopian and Maharashtra programmes inevitably involves focusing on the inputs (resources and means) and outputs (effects) of public and private actions on employment and therefore livelihoods. In addressing this complexity the research co-ordinates both qualitative and quantitative methodologies with an increased emphasis on the former for policy and institutional research and upon the latter for the implementation.

The methodology utilises purposive sampling and semi-structured interviews which emphasise opinions, feelings, judgement, attitudes, bias, priorities and perceptions. The final analysis is therefore largely sociological or anthropological. Field based quantitative research is however, also undertaken through the utilisation of random survey techniques, classical project evaluation techniques and structured interviews to collect public works level data which is subsequently statistically analysed. The approach adopted involves a basket of methods selected to best fit the above considerations. In order to benefit from the experiences of all stakeholders, in Ethiopia and Maharashtra, who are involved in the design and delivery of the programmes, detailed stakeholder analysis was conducted where key primary and secondary stakeholders⁵ were identified. At the primary level there are those who benefit directly from EGS works at the grassroots level. At the secondary stakeholder level local administrative authorities, mass associations, regional administrations, government departments and donors are responsible for overseeing the planning and implementation of EGS. The programme is largely funded by donors, with moderate co-funding from the federal and regional governments. Implementation is conducted by line departments and local communities within the regional context. Organisational and individual realities of the programme must be recognised and the following methods have been adopted for the purpose of research these elements.

Policy and Institutional Research Methods

Qualitative research methods include *ethnography, field methods, qualitative enquiry, participant observation, naturalistic methods* and occasionally *responsive evaluation*. Such methods provide for rich descriptions and explanations of processes and poverty contexts. They preserve the chronological flow of occurrences and can be used to derive decision making processes and undisclosed concerns. I have adopted any method that works, that produces clear, verifiable, credible meaning from a set of qualitative data to include:

- a) Prolonged contact with 'banal' every day life situations in Tigray and Amhara National Regional States and in Maharashtra;
- b) Study visits to Maharashtra with key Ethiopian Government officials;
- c) Holistic (systemic, encompassing, integrated) overview of the EGS context in the research areas;

⁵ The term primary 'refers' to individuals from the community (i.e. those who benefit directly from the services generated by the project and those most likely to be affected by the project). 'Secondary' stakeholders refers to those largely involved in the delivery of the programme such as government departments, national and international development organisations and NGOs.

- d) Empathetic understanding of rural vulnerability and the generation of different perceptions; and,
- e) Preservation of opinions of key informants and the isolation of certain research themes such as decentralisation, targeting etc.

Policy and institutional research focuses largely upon secondary stakeholders i.e. those to do not directly participate in EGS works. During the course of conducting this research over 200 'Key Informants' have been interviewed on various aspects of EGS policy, institutional issues using the following methods: key informant interviews, ZOPP/LFA⁶ Planning Workshops, questionnaires; focus group discussions, structured direct observation, participant observation.

Two study visits were made to Maharashtra. I coordinated these visits with 55 senior Ethiopian officials with funding provided by the EC. The visits assessed the strategic and implementation frameworks for the Maharashtra EGS and I worked closely with the Planning Department responsible for EGS. The total time spent on study tours lasted 8 weeks. Questionnaires were used with all senior GoE officials related to policy and institutional issues.

A total of 4 logical framework planning 'Workshops' were conducted at national and regional levels each with between 15 and 25 participants from the regional bureaus of planning, DPPC, agriculture, roads, education and executive committee members from the regional councils. This alone provided an invaluable insight into the interpretation of the policy environment and the major bottlenecks in the planning process. To supplement this approach 'Focus Groups' were also utilised for regional level discussions which focus on specific issues such as policy linkages and targeting procedures. This has enabled a more detailed assessment of certain central research issues.

The methods employed have provided a comprehensive evaluation of the present political orientations on EGS in Ethiopia, underscored by those on Maharashtra. At the same time it has also enabled the researcher to make a detailed assessment of key programme bottlenecks and latent programme potentials based on comparisons with the Maharashtra EGS. This research pulls together new elements that remain unstudied and yet are central to the successful development of EGS.

Implementation Research Methods

The fieldwork was conducted jointly with local community groups, individuals and implementing organisations taking part in EGS projects in sites currently falling within the European Commission €6.62 promotion project. Projects adopted in this research included those implemented by the regional states of Amhara and Tigray, the Relief Society of Tigray (REST), Save the Children (UK) and the UN World Food Programme. Methods used were largely quantitative and based on the strict application of field based performance monitoring methods.

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)⁷ techniques were widely used to animate major LIPW issues seen from the perspective of those who participate. PRA is a rural based participatory action research techniques that focuses on people as initiators, beneficiaries and users of rural services. Methods used included 'Preference Ranking', 'Focus Group Discussion' and 'Problem Analysis' among others. Issues included wage payment rates, group dynamics, welfare, perceptions of workers rights and appropriateness of projects implemented among others.

Field assessments were carried out to estimate the achievement of both relief and development objectives in terms of structures constructed and the potential contribution of these assets to sustainable livelihoods. This included measuring the efficiency and effectiveness of operations as well as an assessment of outputs and expected impact on livelihoods. Project sites visited included those for integrated micro-watershed development, irrigation, soil and water conservation (including physical and biological methods), rural roads, water supply and horticulture. Field visits made in Ethiopia were mirrored by similar site visits in Maharashtra. In total, over 200 projects sites have been visited as part of the assessment (130 in Ethiopia and 73 in Maharashtra). The overall sustainability of the institutional setup and works constructed was also reviewed. The results of these research assessments were referenced with the reported results by the different agencies. This was possible as working for the EC Food Security Unit, all programme monitoring reports (narrative and financial), passed across my desk.

During the course of conducting project based EGS research, meetings were conducted with EGS participants and local administrations in both Amhara and Tigray to assess the level of participation and overall relevance of works planned and implemented. Research findings reflect the different expectations of participants and therefore provide a catalogue of experiences. These rapid assessment exercises indicate which aspects people see as the main trends in their lives and can assess how they themselves perceive issues such as stress points in the seasonal calendar in terms of the importance of relief food allocations, household expenditure, household priorities, the significance of project achievements and opinions about how to improve programming. The PRA approach cannot quantify these areas in detail but rather presents an informed picture related to the impact of EGS within which the wider debate can be oriented.

The chosen methodology for this area of research is justified in that it enables a comprehensive assessment and analysis of key issues related to the long term poverty/food security impact of EGS projects. This method is preferable to a much more data centred approach as this would have required significantly greater resources in terms of data collection and lead to problems of area sampling and representation given the scale and dynamic nature of the geographical area under research.

⁷ PRA is different from the classic Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) in that it focuses on peoples opinions and actions to complement more traditional socio-economic surveys. PRA approaches to research have been widely disseminated by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and it is now frequently referred to as either Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) or Diagnostic Studies.

The following themes are researched under the overall title of implementation a) programme efficiency, effectiveness and relevance, b) impact on short term relief needs, c) impact on long term productivity and poverty reduction, d) sustainability.

Researchers Own Contribution

During the course of conducting this research I have worked for the EC and UK DFID as a food security policy and institutional advisor based in Tigray in northern Ethiopia and in the capital, Addis Ababa. I was responsible for co-ordinating the largest EGS capacity building programme for the regions of Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray valued initially at €6.62 million growing to over €20 million by 2001 funded by the EC and directly responsible for the development of EC EGS policy in Ethiopia. I have been both chaired and been an active participant in many meetings with Government donors and NGOs over this period and contributed to the day to day development of the policy and implementation strategies.

I coordinated the two EC study visits to Maharashtra to review the policy and institutional arrangements for implementation, of which over 55 senior Ethiopian officials attended. I was responsible for setting the research agenda, based upon this research, and leading all meetings with Government and the Ministers for Planning and Rural Development. I produced two reports, the last one with my colleague Deres Abdulkedir, on the policy and institutional aspects of the Maharashtra and Ethiopian programmes, and these were copied to all federal and regional officials involved in EGS under covering letter of the EC Delegation.

In addition, I have contributed widely to Newspaper Discussion around EGS and food security an example of which is provided overleaf. This exchange on policy ideas between myself and the DPPC, through the media, was a way of breathing life into the process of public policy dialogue around EGS and poverty reduction programmes. In addition, I have presented over 20 papers related to EGS at national and international workshops at the request of Government and international organisations. As a result of the research findings, I have already assisted the EC in Ethiopia in programming new EGS and public works commitments valued at €24 million, all of which should assist in improving the livelihoods of poorer sections of Ethiopia residing in Amhara and Tigray national states.

Unique Aspects of the Research

This research includes a number of unique research aspects that should not go unnoticed. For example, most researchers are temporary external observers and remain at best only partially acquainted with the 'objects' of their research. However, this research includes participant observation at its heart and research results will have both a profound impact on both the researcher and those who are included in LIPW in the Amhara and Tigray regions.

Participant Observation: I was an active participant in designing, co-ordinating and implementing the programmes being researched. This provided incite, internal documentation and to information not accessible to most researchers and of course greater insight into the background to decision making. Participant observation differs from 'structured direct observation' in that it requires greater time, focuses on aspects of social and cultural

phenomenon rather than on the physical environment and requires empathy to become to some extent, a part of the community. I have worked in Ethiopia for over six years and have worked and lived with local communities for long periods of time while at the same time speaking basic Tigrinya, the local dialect of the Tigraian people. In addition, my daily work for both the European Commission and DFID has enabled me to gain greater insight into the various procedures and working relationships.⁸

Combined Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods: Combining both quantitative and qualitative methods provides a more embracing analytical framework than any singular approach to developmental research. Both approaches possess different characteristic ways of observing poverty. For example, the philosophical underpinning of quantitative research hinges upon the notion of positivism and a single measurable reality whereas the qualitative approach rejects the position taken by the positive paradigm by claiming multiple realities. The quantitative approach tends to decrease sampling error but is prone to more non-sampling error whereas the opposite remains true for qualitative research. The aim is to merge the findings of both approaches into one set of policy recommendations.

Policy, Institutional and Implementation Orientations and Results: The impact of LIPW schemes cannot be assessed through desk work alone as the impact is only measurable through consultation with those who have participated in the scheme. In addition, the focus of national policy and macro-economic policies cannot be determined while researching in the remote valleys of the north east highlands. What is needed is a unified approach that brings together important research issues while simultaneously aggregating and disaggregating the results. Two eyes are better than one.

Action Research: I have been fortunate, as a result of my position with the EC, to be able to test the results of my research whilst implementing the various programmes under my coordination. This has enabled the early adaptation of research questions and the triangulation of results.

Overall Structure

The research is presented in nine chapters. Each chapter brings into play different elements that consolidate previous discussions while providing an increasing focus on the main problem areas to be addressed by the research. The set diagram for this research, presented below, outlines the overall approach being adopted as follows:

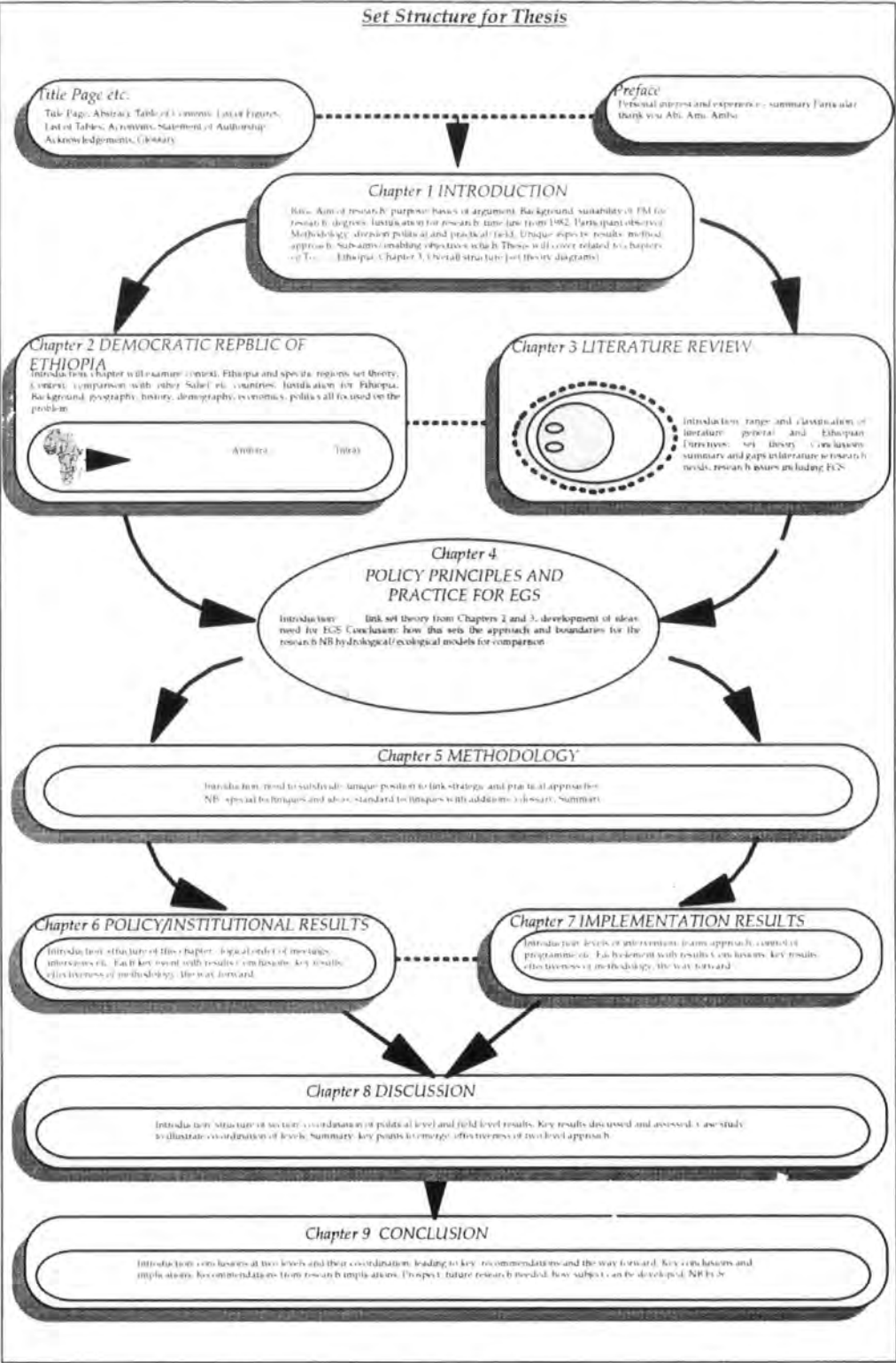
- a) This introductory chapter presents the overall objectives, purpose and basic arguments being addressed by the research while at the same time presenting a justification for the geographical area of study. In essence, it sets the stage for the presentation of research results and related discussion.

⁸ While the researcher acknowledges that living within a community for four years and speaking the local language does not automatically give some divine right of access to 'pure' information, it does however assist significantly in understanding at least some of the complexities of the subject matter.

- b) Chapter two presents both a comparative study of Maharashtra State in India as well as a country study of Ethiopia and of the two research areas: Amhara and Tigray national regional states. The choice of Ethiopia alone for this study is appropriate on the basis of its primacy as the most food deficit country in Africa. Of vital importance, this chapter sets the more specific context within which the research will be defined as well as characterising the two case study areas in northern Ethiopia. The study provides an overview of all relevant country characteristics and focuses clearly on the research problems and hypothesis.
- c) Chapter three delivers a detailed literature review of the wider subject on food security and upon EGS and LIPW in particular. The major gaps in previous research are identified with particular reference to the EGS related LIPW for food security and new areas of research defined.
- d) Chapter four pulls together the different philosophical approaches to the food security problem and presents some new insights which should assist those involved in planning safety net programmes such as EGS in particular with a clear policy and institutional framework. In addition, the boundaries of the present research problem are established.
- e) Chapter five presents the research methodologies and argues for the importance of linking both quantitative and qualitative approaches at policy, institutional and implementation levels. Special research techniques are also reviewed.
- f) Chapter six presents the results of the policy and institutional level fieldwork through information gathered from key informants, workshops, discussion groups, planning workshops, focal group, discussions, structured direct observation, participant observation and questionnaires. This knowledge/experience base crystallises the key issues to emerge and provides a framework for the policy and institutional level results. The specific levels of intervention are also stated.
- g) Chapter seven shadows chapter six in presenting the implementation level results. The fieldwork was conducted over a period of four years and presents a comprehensive coverage of achievements and bottlenecks in the planning and implementation of LIPW programmes through detailed assessment of works organisation and the verifiable measurement of livelihood impacts.
- h) Chapter eight synthesises and co-ordinates the research results into the hierarchy of programme implementation responsibilities⁹. Different issues and their significance are discussed in the light of the two different levels of research results. Insights are gained. The effectiveness of linking the two approaches is also appraised.
- i) Chapter nine provides relevant conclusions and recommendations are made as well as further research prospects detailed. The conclusions expand the level of knowledge regarding labour intensive schemes in Ethiopia and provide concrete operational procedures for future programme operations.

⁹ The hierarchies being international, governmental and inter-governmental, international and national NGOs, voluntary organisations, local communities, households and individuals.

The structure for the thesis is summarised in the set structure presented graphically below.





EGS works participants in Tigrai

1.1 The Global Hunger Problem

Although human kind has entered the new millennium, the challenge presented by the growing poverty crisis remains at the top of the international agenda and the events of September 11, 2001 have driven both poverty and international security even higher up the agenda. Poverty, and the disparity of global wealth, has it appears when combined with the political economy, very real consequences for international and national security. In Africa too, levels of poverty and the associated struggle to monopolise finite resources lead to political inequality and conflict, particularly where multi-ethnicity remains an important cross cutting issue. Political economy processes adversely affect the lives of the poor most directly.

Progress since the 1974 World Food Conference has been varied with some countries substantially increasing food production while others, saddled with the burden of population growth, international debt as well as declining world market prices, production has been stagnant or in decline. Addressing the 1974 conference in Rome, Henry Kissinger pleaded for efforts to increase agricultural production so that within a decade no child would go hungry. This call was sympathetically taken by the conference although the overriding failure was not to make more explicit the fact that production alone will not bring about household food security. For this to be achieved, livelihoods must be strengthening through expanding market access to resources though increases in household income. In 1996, the World Food Summit, held in Rome by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations acknowledged the successes and failures of the past 22 years and once again echoed the call for "food security to be given the priority it deserves" (FAO, 1996). However, on this occasion the conference firmly acknowledged that production was not the major bottleneck as global food self sufficiency had already been attained, but rather that the issue of equitable distribution needed to be addressed more directly. The

¹⁰ Between 1984 and 1992 I travelled to more than 50 countries throughout the African, South American and Asian continents in an independent research programme with the sole objective of understanding different cultural environments and traditions. However, my research into India proved more productive than other because of its cultural diversity and capacity to tolerate disparate world views. During my third visit, I happened upon Calcutta and was hit by unrivalled levels of squalor and urban poverty and importantly, a rights based approach to welfare.

In March, 1994 I worked with Professor Ewan W. Anderson from the Geography Department of the University of Durham in the development of a detailed country study of Somalia. The assessment focused on the key requirement for more consistent and timely early warning information. In June of that year, I provided Technical Assistance (TA) to the European Commission Micro Projects Programme (MPP) in Zimbabwe. In June of that year, the European Commission contracted my services to Co-ordinate a €3 million Micro Projects Programme in the Tigray national regional state of Ethiopia. I was placed in the Relief Society of Tigray (REST), a local Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) of the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) in the Tigray National State capital of Mekele where I spent three years dedicated to food security related interventions.

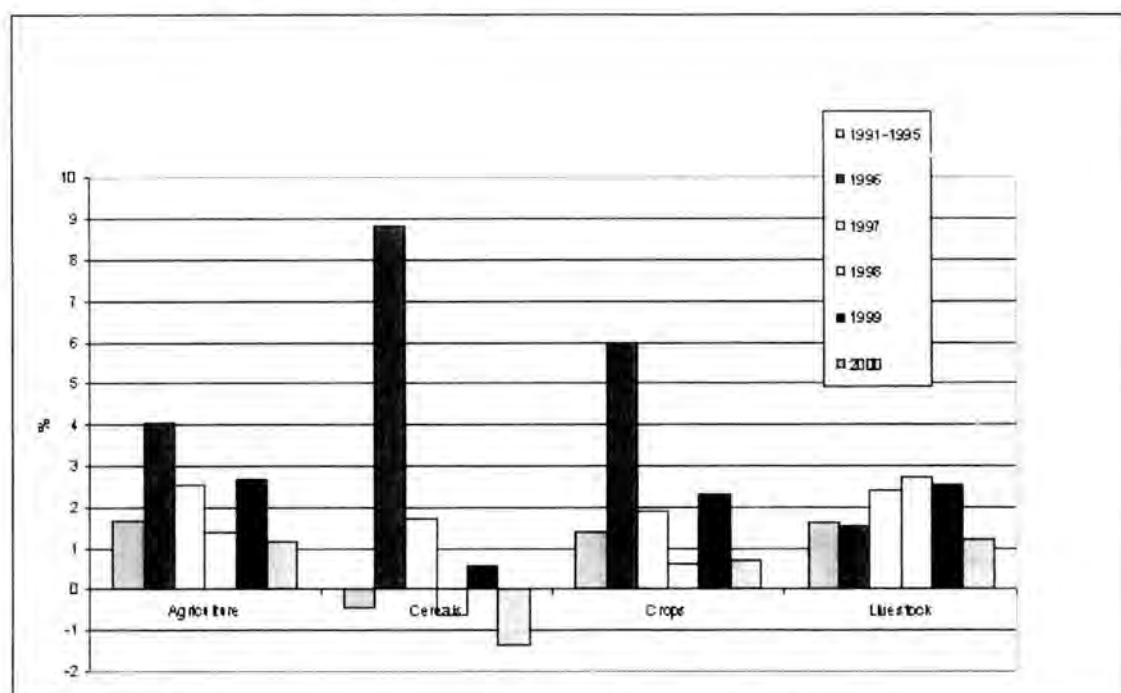


conference re-iterated the call for food to be declared a human right at the level of 2,200 calories per person per day¹¹.

The FAO Special Programme for Food Security (SPFS), aims to help those living in developing countries, in particular the Low Income Food Deficit Countries (LIFDCs) to improve their food security through rapid increases in food production and productivity, by reducing year-to-year variability in food production on an economically and environmentally sustainable basis and by improving people's access to food, in line with the 1996 World Food Summit Plan of Action. Five years later, the World Food Summit, Thirty-first Session of the FAO held in Rome, 2-13 November 2001, FAO estimated that world wide, 815 million people were undernourished, or chronically food insecure in 1997-99 (FAO, 2001). Also, WHO indicates that the extent of micro-nutrient deficiencies include an estimated 740 million people suffering from iodine-deficiency related disorders, which causes mental retardation, delayed motor development and stunting. About two billion people suffer from iron deficiency anaemia, which negatively impacts on physical productivity and children's cognitive skills. Between 100 and 140 million children under five suffer from sub clinical manifestations of vitamin A deficiency.

According to FAO world agricultural output growth slowed to 1.2 percent in 2000, as compared to 2.7 percent growth achieved in 1999 as shown in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 1.1 Percentage Growth of Agricultural, Cereal, Crop and Livestock Production (1991-2000); World Total

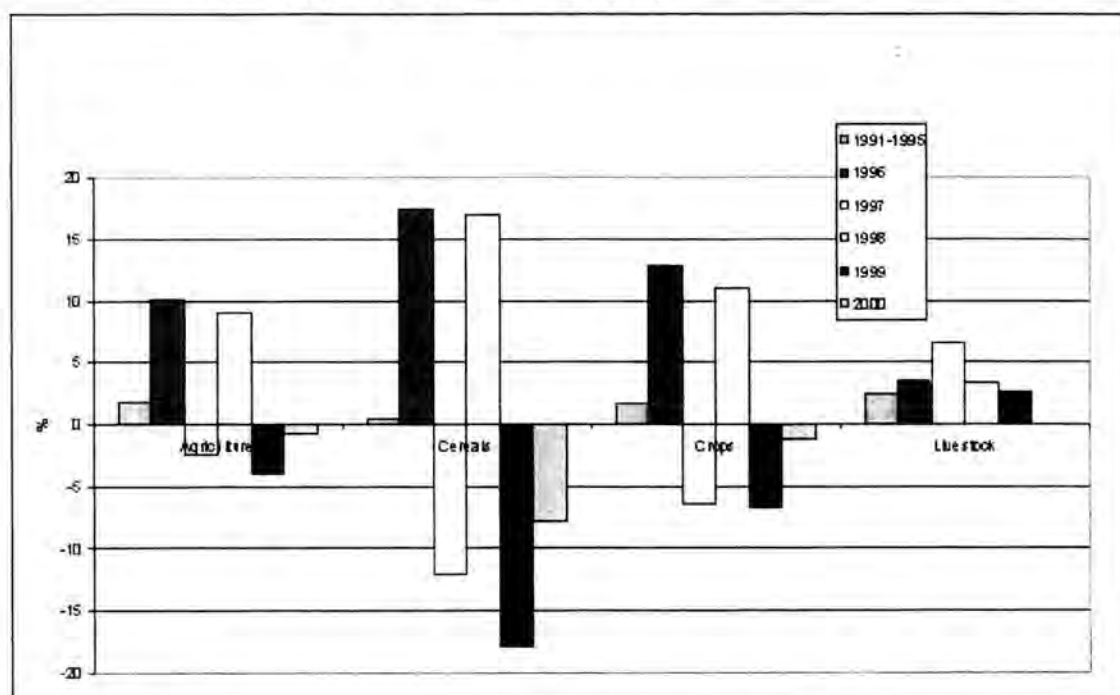


¹¹ However, it should be noted that there is no clear consensus on the desired calorie intake in Ethiopia as WFP claim that the equivalent of 224 Kg of cereals per year is required to survive including a small allowance for living whereas DPPC claim that only 180 Kg is required.

The slowdown reflects reduced growth in developed and developing countries and in crops and livestock (FAO, 2001).

Food shortages caused by natural and human-caused disasters continue to affect many countries. According to the FAO, as of September 2001, there were 34 countries and over 62 million people facing food emergencies. Agricultural output too in the near East and north Africa region fell further by 0.8 percent in 2000, after contracting 4 percent in the previous year as shown in Figure 1.2 below. Drought continued to adversely affect production in many countries.

Figure 1.2 Percentage Growth of Agricultural, Cereal, Crop and Livestock Production (1991-2000): Near East and North Africa



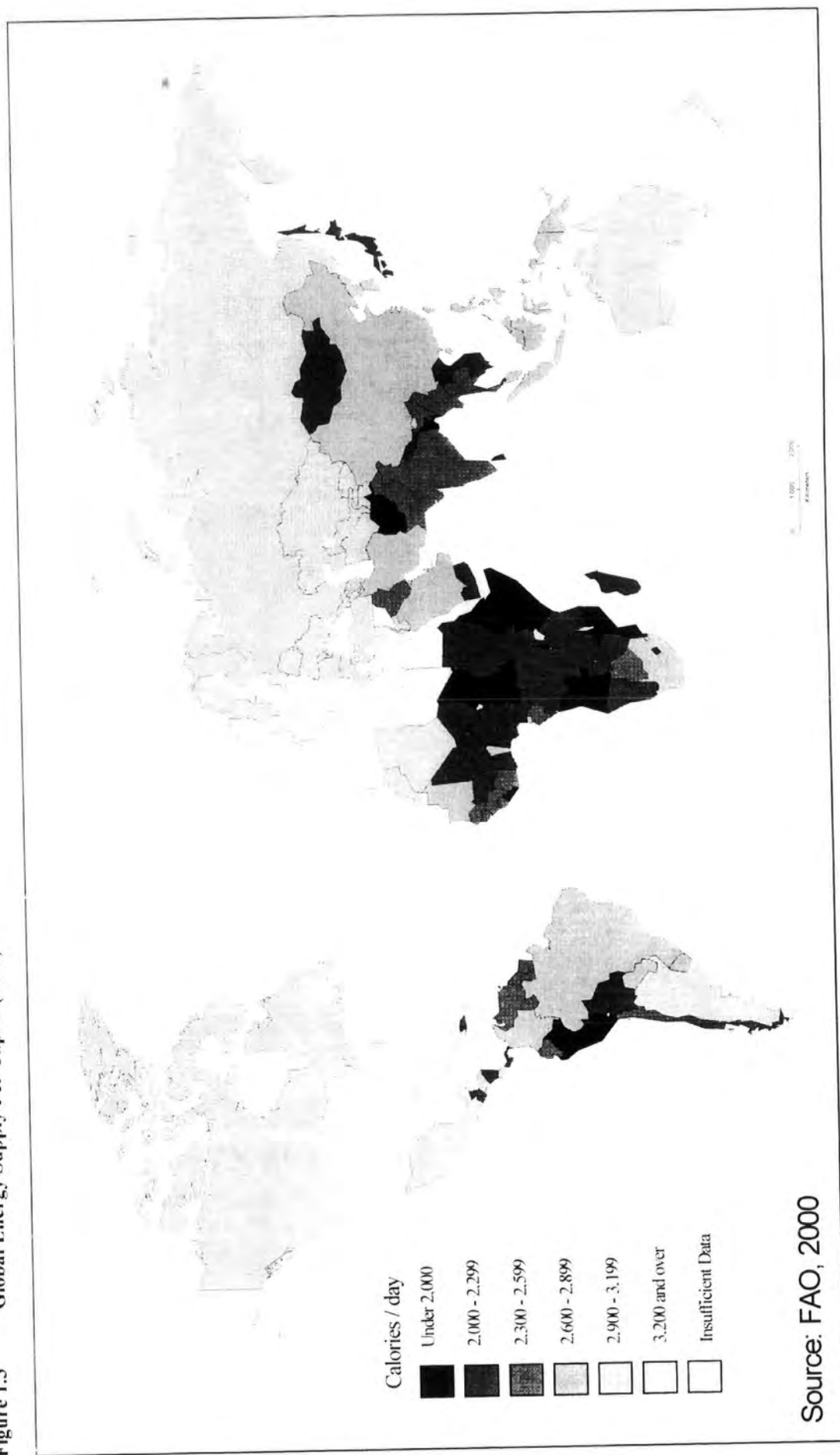
In sub-Saharan Africa, agricultural production rose 0.3 percent in 2000 after increasing by 1.8 percent in 1999. Unfavourable weather conditions as well as past and ongoing civil conflict affected output adversely. The HIV/AIDS crisis is of increasing concern and will further exacerbate food insecurity in many countries.

Despite increased international attention to the issue of food (in)security as well as increased financial and technical assistance in both the form of food aid and financial support to both increase agricultural production and decrease vulnerability, a number of key food deficit countries remain. Of these, Peru, Afghanistan, North Korea, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Chad, Central African Republic, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia are the most significant with dietary energy supply per capita at less than 2,000 calories per day (FAO, 2000). However it is worthwhile noting that such data is aggregated at the national level and accordingly household food insecurity exists in every country of the world whether chronic or transitory. It is to be

noted that the Sahelian and Sub-Saharan regions of Africa are the most food insecure areas largely because of their highly variable climate characteristics, extremely fragile ecosystem and relatively non diversified economies. The response of the communities affected by food shortage has been the adoption of extensive production systems and diversification of income sources. However, despite such adaptive strategies, major famines have been registered in Africa in “1680, 1750, 1820, 1830, 1910, 1968, 1973 and 1984” (Egg and Gabas, 1997). Moreover, the incidence of major food emergencies appear to be increasing as population growth outstrips food production and drives in health care and education contribute to some extent to decreased infant mortality rates. Figure 1.3 below provides a summary of dietary energy supply per capita by country for the period 1990/96 and shows Ethiopia as one of the most undernourished nations in the world. The significance of the Horn of Africa as the most food deficit region underlies the need for food security related research in Ethiopia. Despite the inclusion of countries such as Peru and Afghanistan in those countries recording less than 2,000 calories per person per day, most food insecure countries are located in the African continent.

It is worthwhile comparing a number of different north African countries regularly in receipt of international food aid assistance as this clearly demonstrates the significance of focusing on Ethiopia for food security related research. Variables such as per capita income, development assistance as a per cent of GNP, life expectancy and average food aid receipts can show in country vulnerability and variability. In this respect a comparison is made between Ethiopia and those countries falling under the CILSS (Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel) which was established in 1976 and includes Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Chad from West Africa. Such a comparison brings into stark focus the scale of international relief assistance to Ethiopia. It is noted that the total population of Ethiopia exceeds that of the CILSS countries stated below and that this also contributes substantially to the food production/consumption deficit. Table 1.1 below provides a comparative overview of the socio-economic features of these countries and highlights the need for food security related research in Ethiopia.

Figure 1.3 Global Energy Supply Per Capita (2000)



Source: FAO, 2000

Table 1.1 Comparative Analysis of CILSS and Ethiopian Socio-economic Situation

| Country | Population | GNP | | | Development Assistance per cent | Life Expectancy (Years) | Average Annual Food Aid (mt) ² | |
|------------|------------|-------|------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|-----|
| | | US \$ | Per Capita | GNP Per Capita Rank ¹ | | | Food | Aid |
| Burkina F. | 10.100.000 | 274 | | 21 | 22.3 | 49 | 51.652 | |
| Cape Verde | - | 320 | | - | 16.0 | 51 | 63.872 | |
| Gambia | 1.100.000 | 330 | | 26 | 20.9 | 51 | 12.121 | |
| Guinea B. | 1.130.000 | 240 | | 16 | 74.2 | 50 | 11.352 | |
| Mali | 7.696.348 | 250 | | 18 | 22.0 | 49 | 48.550 | |
| Mauritania | 2.147.778 | 480 | | 35 | 25.9 | 51 | 62.044 | |
| Niger | 7.734.789 | 230 | | 15 | 25.5 | 46 | 51.666 | |
| Senegal | 6.896.808 | 600 | | 41 | 17.4 | 50 | 64.509 | |
| Chad | 7.200.131 | 180 | | 8 | 24.0 | 48 | 29.644 | |
| Ethiopia | 58.125.563 | 100 | | 3 | 22.9 | 49 | 663.908 ² | |

¹ Source: World Bank Development Report 1996 (Ranking out of 133 poorest countries)

² For CILSS States calculated on the basis of 1985 to 1995 averages (these are the latest available figures)

² Based on the 1990/2001 averages from the DPPC Relief Appeals

Table 1.1 shows that the socio-economic situation of Ethiopia to be the poorest even among relatively poorer less developed countries. Food aid pledges from the international community underscore the situation of chronic poverty and demonstrate why Ethiopia in the number one country in Africa in receipt of EC, USAID and World Bank finance.

1.2 Hunger and Social Protection

This research explores important policy, institutional and implementation issues related to the challenge of overcoming such high levels of poverty, hunger, vulnerability and impoverishment in rural Ethiopia in particular. The Government of Ethiopia (GoE) understands, and the ruling party of the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) in particular after the 1984/85 'famine', that hunger is both abhorrent and intolerable given the extent of human achievement in the modern world and given that policy options exist for government to deal with the problem. However, experience has shown, and Ethiopia is no exception, that far from minimising vulnerability, governments, can accelerate it through incoherent and poorly implemented policies for rural development. For example, ill-defined land tenure policies that protect political interests at the risk of protecting peoples livelihoods therefore increasing the seasonal risk that rural households are under, and therefore levels of poverty.

"more than anywhere in the Horn or the West African Sahel, the people of the north-east highlands of Ethiopia have shown themselves vulnerable to 'biblical' famines: sheer production and distribution failures to which political changes and warfare have been only an adjunct." (Holt and Lawrence, 1993)

Unfortunately, Ethiopia is internationally recognised for two features: famine and war, both of which have predominantly centre around the old provinces of Amhara

and Tigray¹² where high population density accompanies a degraded natural resource base. Addressing poverty on this scale, where over 50 per cent fall below the poverty line, requires coordinated action among which well planned and implemented Labour Intensive Public Works (LIPW) are often a key component, to aid in the process of transition from a state controlled to liberalised economy. In Ethiopia, a form of LIPW called the Employment Generation Scheme (EGS) is currently being implemented as part of the Government's 1993 National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Management (NPDPM). The programme calls for an enabling policy environment in partnership with competent rural institutions so that efficient and effective implementation can proceed through the utilisation of food aid, as a primary resource. Social protection, though an employment based safety net, remains an important measure of good governance and EGS has therefore often been viewed by the GoE as a panacea, harnessing the labour potential of under capitalised households and providing either temporary, seasonal or longer term employment – escape from poverty to a sustainable livelihood. In Ethiopia, the enormous potential of labour power of vulnerable people is being tapped through EGS where millions of labour days are generated annually, to aid in the construction of durable economic and community assets in an attempt to guarantee gainful employment to those who fall outside the mainstream agricultural system.

Three key related problems persist in rural Ethiopia all of which are exacerbated by population growth. The first is the increasing prevalence of structural household food insecurity itself, the second which is related, involves increasing rural unemployment and the third, lack of rural infrastructure. Addressing these problems within an inter-sectoral approach requires a conducive policy environment.

Every year in Ethiopia, between 2-6 million people receive up to 1,200,000 Metric Tonnes (mt) of 'relief' food assistance donated almost totally by the international community. This resource could theoretically generate ~150,000,000 million labour days annually (depending on the nature of the food security conditions) in the form of EGS. At the present work norm (2000 person days/Km) this would provide labour for over 75,000 km of rural access roads annually. This makes the Ethiopian EGS strategy comparable to the Indian EGS and certainly the largest employment scheme in the African continent.¹³ However, despite this potentially significant impact the overall effectiveness and efficiency of the programme is, at present, retarded by poor capacity and planning. Programme improvements need to be sought at both policy and institutional and implementation levels.

Achieving household food security in the medium to long term will require a concerted effort towards developing poverty eradication programmes that emphasise

¹² This does not downplay the absolute numbers of food insecure in other regions such as Oromia and Somali region among others of those in neighboring Eritrea. However, the highest levels of vulnerability centre around the north east highlands.

¹³ The Maharashtra EGS commenced as part of a 15 point programme formulated for the development of the states economy under Government Resolution, General Administration Department. No. FD/EGS1072/P-1 dated 28th March 1972. In 1986 it generated a total of 228,000,000 labour days of employment equivalent to 684,000 MT at 3 Kg payment per day.

heavily upon enhancing effective demand (entitlements) in low potential areas. When a combination of market failure and lack of effective demand combine, disaster prevention, preparedness and management activities may be required to solve the immediate insecurity of which EGS remains a key agent.

1.3 The Challenge of Hunger Eradication

Ethiopia's population of over 64 million is the second largest in sub-Saharan Africa and is growing at approximately 3 per cent each year; a further 1.8 million mouths to feed next year alone. Ethiopia is ranked 171st out of 174 in the 2000 UNDP Human Development Report and life expectancy at birth averages only 43.4. Over 75 per cent of the population does not have access to potable drinking water; over 45 per cent lack access to health services and a further 81 per cent live without sanitation. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has also fallen from US\$ 117 in 1981 to US\$ 110 in 1998. Rates of malnutrition (stunting 55.9 and wasting 6.8 percent in 1995/96) continue to worsen, as does per capita food production. Indicators of wellbeing are poor and can be seen as stagnating or declining capabilities in health, nutrition, education and consumption outcomes. In recent years opportunities for people to improve livelihoods may have improved for a minority but for many, the slide into chronic poverty, slipping below the poverty line, has become a reality. Millions remains destitute.

In Ethiopia, access to food on a daily basis is a human right that is regularly denied to almost one third of the population. The underlying causes, however, relate less to the achievement of national food self sufficiency¹⁴ through enhanced agricultural productivity or domestic purchasing power (imports) but rather to the more complicated problem of access and entitlements: income and employment. This has been recognised by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) and in the 2001 Policy Framework for Peace, Democracy and Regionalisation, efforts are directed towards attaining both national food self sufficiency and addressing the problem of enhancing effective demand. However, it is important for the GoE to realise that the attainment of national self sufficiency will not affect the problems of market access for under capitalised individuals. The identification of underlying causes and related solutions is a fundamental concern of this research.

The task is rendered however, even more complex by the overall burden of social and economic poverty in Ethiopia which remains consistently one of the poorest countries in world. In 2000 the World Bank Development Report ranked Ethiopia as the 4th poorest country in the world with a per capita Gross National Product (GNP) of US\$ 100, a population growth rate of 2.8 per cent and a life expectancy of just 49 years (World Bank, 2000). Despite this background of endemic poverty, the FDRE has

¹⁴ The term 'food self sufficiency' means that a country produces sufficient food to feed the entire population to the level of 2,100 Kcal per person per day. However, this approach, which is usually referred to as the 'balance sheet' approach (production equals demand) fails to acknowledge that marginalised low income groups in fact do not gain access to sufficient food. Accordingly, food self sufficiency should not be confused for food security.

embarked on an ambitious economic reform programme centred around market liberalisation which translates into a strategy of Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation (ADLI)¹⁵ at the centre of all policies. The GoE 2001 Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) highlights the centrality of addressing poverty and hunger as major impediments to economic growth and national security. However, such a programme of intent will be in-effective unless the social reproduction of vulnerability itself is not only addressed in government public policy – but achieved.

In the past, international assistance has tended to focus on the provision of grant based subsidies for capital based interventions at the relative neglect of subsidies to the labour sector. However EGS programmes, as demonstrated by international experience, have the potential to address effectively the chronic or transitory loss of entitlements and so contribute towards sustainable livelihoods.

1.4 The Role of EGS in Hunger Eradication

Employment programmes, particularly LIPW have a long history in Africa and India dating back to the early 1960s in India, East and Southern Africa, Kenya, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Mauritania and Mali among others. As Teklu notes:

“LIPW have the potential to serve as both short and long term sources of employment and long term generators of growth and productivity increases. They can function effectively when they are designed to alleviate poverty and improve food security. The search, however, for the right portfolio of intervention instruments needs to be given much attention among policymakers, donors and researchers” (Teklu, 1995).

This research takes up this important challenge.

The alleviation of poverty through the generation of opportunities for employment has arguably been one of the greatest concerns of policy makers of the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). Indeed, plans for a national EGS were unveiled as early as 1991. The overall objectives of such labour intensive works are twofold: primarily to enhance purchasing power and thereby stabilise the nutritional status of vulnerable households through increased consumption; and, secondly, to build economic and social infrastructure to create enduring community level assets in order to tackle the root causes of systemic poverty and dependency. EGS programmes can create sustained community assets which enhance production and the marketing of agricultural surplus, preserve human dignity by minimising gratuitous relief and therefore dependency. In addition they should be planned in a participatory nature and integrated into the annual plans of line departments to ensure co-ordination with other development strategies.

¹⁵ Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation (ADLI) focuses on increasing agricultural production to attain national food self sufficiency through the introduction of new improved rural technology transfers such as micro-finance and seed and fertilizer inputs.

The Ethiopian programme objectives and operational characteristics, as detailed in the national guidelines, were closely fashioned on the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme. The study visits undertaken to Maharashtra as part of this research further highlighted the significant parallels between Ethiopia and Maharashtra and the extent to which the Ethiopian programme evolved out of the Maharashtran EGS experience. This approach was adopted in recognition of the success of the Indian experience in diverting famine in the early 1970s in Maharashtra where pro-active public policies and public action extended entitlement protection to rural villagers.¹⁶ The Government of Maharashtra (GoM) EGS has the following objectives:

“The EGS is to provide gainful employment – gainful to the individual or community – in manual work to all able bodied adults in rural areas who are in need and who are desirous of work but cannot find it either on farm and other allied operations in the area of the normal plan/non plan construction and other works implemented by the Government Departments”. (GoM, 1981)

The success of the Indian experience prompted senior political cadre in Ethiopia¹⁷ to design a parallel programme, based on the specific context provided by Ethiopia, to adopt a new policy and associated guidelines for an equivalent programme focused around similar objectives. The focal institution for the Ethiopian EGS is the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) is headed by a Commissioner; with an equivalent Ministerial portfolio. A DPPC study team was dispatched to India to assess the relevance of adopting a similar planning and implementation framework for the programme. The final study team stated that:

“the study visit has revealed that India and Ethiopia share common areas of concern. India has a rich and long experience in managing disasters and implementing employment Guarantee/Assurance Schemes. The guiding principles and techniques on planning and implementation of the programmes are of great importance to Ethiopia. It is believed that the experience gained will help in facilitating the preparation of EGS guidelines” (DPPC, 1997).

As a direct consequence of the study tour to India, the Ethiopian Directives for Disaster Prevention and Management (DDPM) of 1993 cited the following key objectives for EGS:

- a) “provide a means of distribution of income to deprived sections of society [in an area affected of threatened by disaster];
- b) build up assets of an area so as to improve its resilience to disaster [to reduce its vulnerability];

¹⁶ For a fuller discussion of the Maharashtran famine, public policies and entitlement protection see Drèze, J. and Sen, Amartya (1989). They state ‘How was famine averted? While it would be difficult to give a complete answer to this question, a major part of the story undoubtedly relates to public policies of entitlement protection. The cornerstone of these policies was employment generation for cash wages, supplemented by gratuitous relief for those unable to work and without able bodied relatives’ Pg. 129

¹⁷ Abadi Zemo, a senior TPLF cadre, deputy of DPPC in particular.

- c) create conditions and strengthen the infrastructure to help future development in the area; and,
- d) reinforce the work ethos of the affected population [to avoid dependency].” (DDPM, 1993)

The objectives differ in focus largely because of resource constraints. The EGS in Maharashtra is a guarantee scheme as the State Government is endowed with sufficient revenue to fund the programme up to the highest level of rural demand. In Ethiopia, where resources are largely made up of food aid, with an uncertain planning framework, the scaling of the programme relates to the demand and supply of inputs. However, the effectiveness of implementation and planning exposes the extent to which the Ethiopian approach has fallen far short of its stated objectives whereas in Maharashtra, the overall performance in implementation is far higher. In Maharashtra, cash based transfers and not food aid, self targeting¹⁸ and not administrative targeting procedures apply and a poverty line is identified through socio-economic studies, not through surveys depicting annual production declines. The Maharashtra EGS is demand and not supply driven. Implementation speak louder than policies! This does not mean that the GoM EGS does not have problems. It does, and these too are documented later on.

Five years after the national policy was introduced the DPPC finalised the first EGS guidelines to be adopted by the regions in a flexible manner. As stated by DPPC “These guidelines for the planning and implementation of EGS are based on the Directives for Disaster Prevention and Management of 1993. These guidelines define the framework for the planning and implementation of EGS throughout the country” (DPPC, EGS Guidelines, 1997). However, the time delay in preparing the guidelines appeared to give rise to a policy vacuum within which regions were left independently to determine programming procedures and implementation arrangements which frequently deviated from the fundamental principles of EGS. Accordingly, various approaches have been adopted displaying varied characteristics both within and outside the national guidelines. While this is not in itself undesirable, the goal of introducing a co-ordinated approach to productive EGS to meet the seasonal needs of the most food insecure is seen by many to be as far away as ever.

In order to assist in policy implementation a ‘Manual for Facilitators of NPDPM Familiarisation and Action Planning workshops at Woreda and community Level’ was jointly prepared by DPPC and Save the Children (SC -UK). “The manual aims to enhance the quality and effectiveness of community based NPDPM familiarisation and action planning workshops, and thus the successful implementation of the policy” (DPPC/SCF, 1997).

¹⁸ Poverty alleviation programme are targeted for three main reasons : so that only those in need are assisted; so that resources are efficiently used to address the key problems of poverty; and, so that dependency and economic disincentive effects are minimised. Targeting can be either ‘administrative’ (where participants are selected by outsiders through approved procedures), ‘self targeting’ (where participants make their own decision to participate) or ‘community targeting’ (beneficiaries are selected by community insiders on the basis of perceived need).

1.5 The Challenge of Implementation

The success of the policy largely rests on the capacity of DPPC and implementing agencies to carry out their mandated functions. However, significant doubt has been raised in this regard by a confidential GTZ report which claims that "The potential to fulfil policy and take command exists within DPPC. However, the capacity to do so immediately does not exist" (DPPC/GTZ, 1996). This was also confirmed by independent EC reports in 2001. Consequently, the following key questions need to be urgently addressed by those in positions of policy and programming responsibility:

- a) Why do millions of rural farmers still remain so vulnerable given the unprecedented level of international assistance in financial and non financial assistance over the last twenty years?
- b) What are the policy and institutional constraints to policy implementation?
- c) What are the implementation level constraints?
- d) How can the programme become demand and not supply driven?
- e) Why are programme goals seldom met and rarely verified?
- f) Why do monitoring and evaluation exercises seldom deal with the important issues such as land tenure, the sustainability of farming systems, the situation of excluded groups etc.; and,
- g) What are the impacts of public works on different groups and who remains excluded?
- h) What are the long term prospects for food security given the small size of landholdings and a largely rain fed driven agricultural production system?

1.6 Conclusion

This research is a study on the potential role of public administration in delivering effective and efficient social protection policies and programmes to eradicate poverty and hunger. This introductory chapter has set out the basic framework and arguments for the research write-up and some important policy, institutional and implementation issues also been summarised. The arguments for choosing cross national comparative research (Ethiopia and Maharashtra in India) are clearly made and a number of important differences have been highlighted.

The detailed research to follow will illustrate in far greater detail the significance of the Ethiopian poverty and hunger experience and the evolutionary policy response since the famines of 1972 and 1984. However, rural livelihoods are still in decline and the incidence of poverty is steadily increasing in spite of economic, political social and natural resource management reforms. Liberalisation policies has been effective in part, but land remains a public and not private concern for reasons of national security. In recent years potential areas of economic growth have been accompanied by policy and institutional constraints, often directly related to the political economy.

The theory underpinning this research borrows much from contemporary social protection and food security theory¹⁹. The approach adopted begins from the premise that change can only be brought about through increased awareness of major policy and institutional constraints, informed by implementation experience, in addition to innovatory theory. The increasingly paternalistic tendencies of public and private relief and development agencies would appear to undermine the chances of building community self reliance and sustainable rural networks. Results are drawn and discussed at different levels and woven into a set of clear set of research findings, in essence, policy recommendations for institutional roles, coordination and implementation. It is only through action research into the role of social protection that invaluable insight can be gained into the processes and maintaining factors of impoverishment. It is also important to realise that only policies focused on public participation through enhanced public policy dialogue – collaborative and adversarial – can eradicate poverty and hunger. This research takes up this challenge.

The following chapter provides an overview of the political, economic, social, ethnolinguistic and natural resource context of Ethiopia as well as introducing the two case study areas of Amhara and Tigray national regional states.

¹⁹ Although particularly the work of Sen, Drèze, de Waal, O'Keefe, Wisner, Davies, Von Braun and Webb.

CHAPTER 2: THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA

2.1 At the Heart of East Africa²⁰

East Africa can best be divided into 10 countries as follows: Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Ethiopia. Figure 2.1 shows the relation of Ethiopia to its neighbours. These countries are among the poorest in the world with rates of population growth, unemployment, under-employment and HIV/Aids infection rates. In addition to this, war and famine have had a disastrous impact and the numbers of internally displaced and refugees have increased substantially. Within the region a total of 1,805,000 refugees were recorded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) of which Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Ethiopia hold the greatest numbers (USAID, 1996). Figures for internally displaced are also high at over 5,620,000. Figures for those affected by drought total 11,592,000 regionally with Ethiopia making up over 57.7 per cent of the total. Although figures post 1996 are not available, the recent war between Ethiopia and Eritrea (1999-2001) will have swelled the numbers of displaced by a further 600,000.

Table 2.1 below provides an overview of the East African region and highlights the huge numbers of refugees, displaced and drought affected populations which exist as a result of 'natural' and 'man made'²¹ disasters among which complex emergencies (best simplified as civil conflict and drought) are an increasing element. The social and economic costs of coping with the problem are enormous and seriously undermine the ability of governments to finance rehabilitation and development endeavours.

Table 2.1 East Africa At Risk

| Country | Refugees | Displaced | Drought | Total |
|----------|-----------|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| Sudan | 470,000 | 3,000,000 | 1,300,000 | 4,770,000 |
| Eritrea | - | 200,000 ²² | 1,500,000 | 1,500,000 |
| Ethiopia | 162,000 | 315,000 | 6,700,000 | 6,862,000 |
| Djibouti | 58,000 | - | 100,000 | 158,000 |
| Kenya | 293,000 | 300,000 | 800,000 | 1,393,000 |
| Somalia | 50,000 | 350,000 | 10,000 | 410,000 |
| Uganda | 292,000 | - | 100,000 | 392,000 |
| Rwanda | 80,000 | 650,000 | 670,000 | 1,400,000 |
| Burundi | 100,000 | 1,320,000 | - | 1,420,000 |
| Tanzania | 300,000 | - | 412,000 | 712,000 |
| Totals | 1,805,000 | 5,620,000 | 11,592,000 | 19,017,000 |

(-) Indicates no data available.

²⁰ East Africa and the term the Greater Horn of Africa are broadly synonymous and are used interchangeably.

²¹ The traditional classification of disasters into 'natural' (drought, earthquakes, floods etc.) and 'anthropogenic' or 'man made' (largely civil war) fails to address the linkages between the two elements as natural constraints, and competition for resources, build on or trigger political stresses.

²² Figures for displaced for Ethiopia and Eritrea result from the of the present conflict between the two countries. Both countries are involved in 'border disputes' which arose in May 1998 when Eritrea invaded the north western border of Tigray - Badme.

Figure 2.1 Ethiopia and its Neighbours

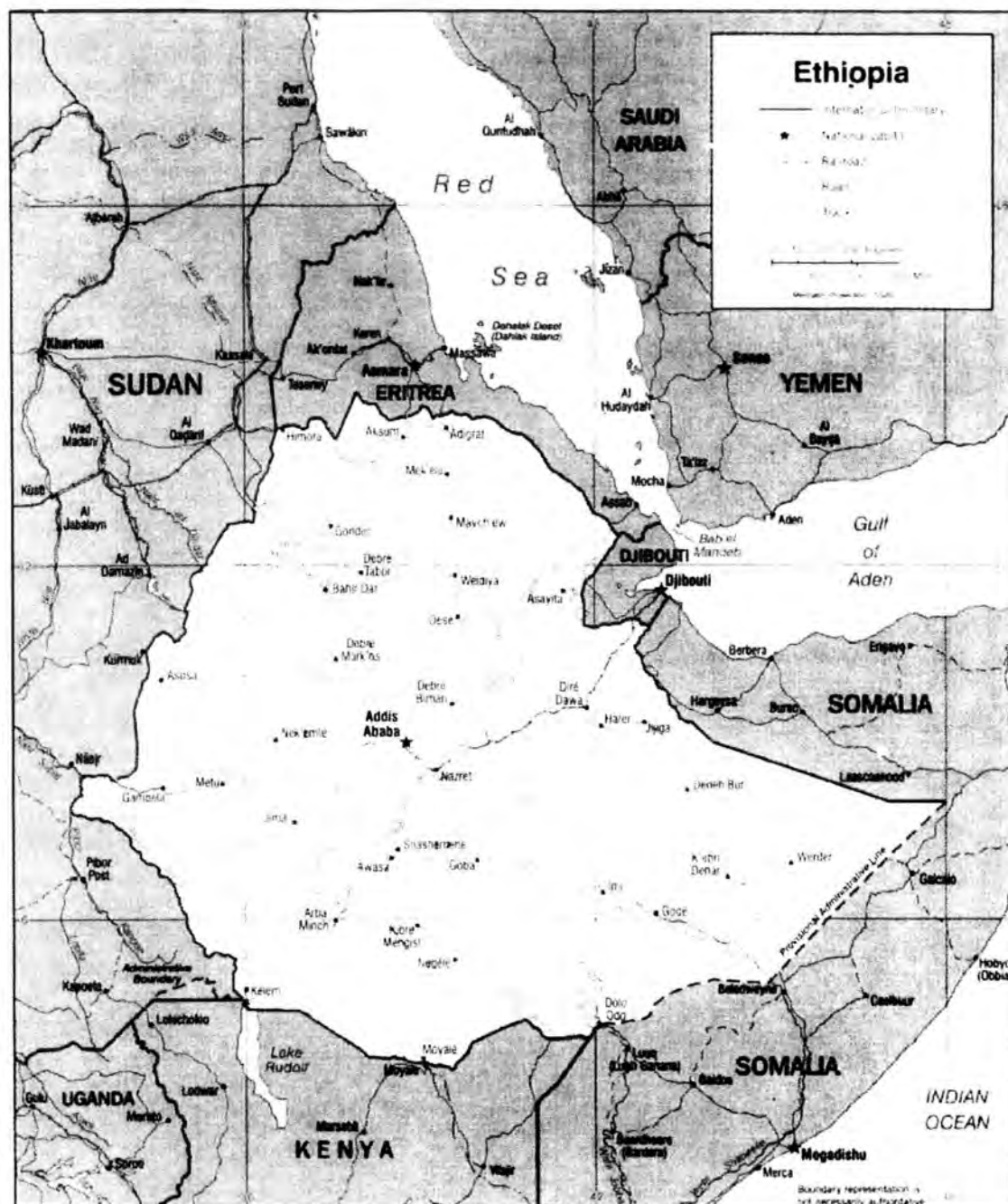


Table 2.1 shows Ethiopia's centrality to the stability of the Horn of Africa as between 30-50 per cent of all refugees, displaced or drought affected come from Ethiopia. Within Ethiopia too, the population affected by war and drought equal over 11 per cent of the population. However, it also needs to be stated that in poor production years, compounded by war, the famine affected population has risen above 10 million (as it did in 2000) despite the fact that in recent years, production has been good (96/97, 98/99, 01/02). Dealing with the structural nature of the displaced and drought affected requires pro-active policies and substantial government commitment.

In 2000 the population of these countries stood at 187 million (World Bank. 1996). Accordingly, approximately 10 per cent of the population of East Africa is composed of either displaced, refugees or those affected by drought. This figure does not however include people suffering from chronic poverty - affected by land related production constraints. Comparison with Sudan shows that despite similar conditions, Sudan's major problem with regard to food insecurity relates to the displacement of households and a complex political emergency, whereas, Ethiopia suffers from wider scale food insecurity rooted firmly within the small holder agricultural system, compounded by frequent political unrest and corruption in the political economy. East Africa has suffered in recent years from multiple conflicts which threaten to undermine even further the prospect of peace and development in the region. Recent conflicts in Rwanda, Sudan, Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea have underlined the increasing requirement for preventative diplomacy as well as enhanced disaster management capacities. The role of the international community, through multi-lateral and bi-lateral aid and NGOs remains significant and co-ordination of activities in Rwanda and Somalia, has proved particularly difficult without counterpart government institutions. Despite the complexity of the region, many donors such as the European Commission and USAID have focused the largest percentage of their assistance on Ethiopia where the process of peace, democracy and development was initiated in 1991 with the establishment in power of the coalition of the EPRDF. Ethiopia, was the largest borrower of the World Bank Group in 1996.

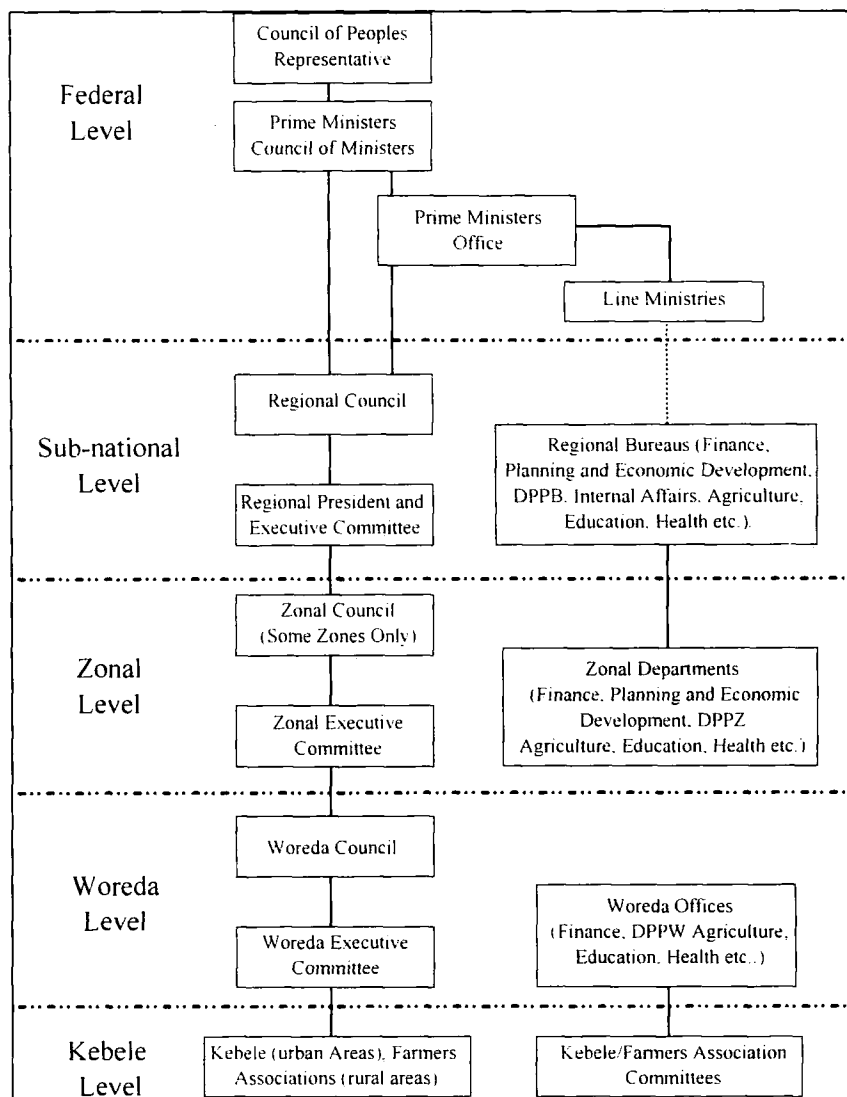
2.2 Government Structure

Ethiopia had a highly centralised system of administration for more than a century leading to number of highly political and economic crisis and the current decentralisation process in Ethiopia has been motivated by the political agenda based upon the political reality of a multi-ethnic nation state. Meaningful political decentralisation in Ethiopia commenced in 1991 with the objective of opening political opportunities to the various liberation movements and allowing each movement to participate in solving the political, and therefore economic conflicts within the country. This is clearly stated in the Article two of the transitional period Charter of Ethiopia where is stated that "*the right of nations, nationalities and peoples self-determination is affirmed. To this end, each nation nationality and people are guaranteed the right to :*

- a) *Preserve its identity and have it respected, promote its culture and history and use and develop its language;*
- b) *Administer its own affairs within its own defined territory and effectively participate in the central government on the basis of freedom, and fast and proper representation; and,*
- c) *Exercise its right of self determination or independence, when the concerned, nation/nationality and people is convinced that the above rights are devised, abridged or abrogated."* (Negarit Gazeta No.1, July 1991)

Article thirteen of the same proclamation indicates the establishment of regional and local governments along ethnical lines (a national cultural linguistic arrangement). This general principle is further enhanced by series of proclamations. Ethiopia is therefore experimenting with a decentralisation and democratisation process, for the first time in its history. Proclamation No. 7/1992 defines the powers of a three-tiered government i.e. central, Regional, and Woreda governments as shown in Figure 2.2 below. The Kebele level is the lowest level of Government and is effectively part of the Woreda level. This has given the regional and Woreda level governments real power and unrestricted autonomy in conducting the duties of a central government. Only defence, foreign affairs, printing currency and foreign economic cooperation are left in the hands of central government, plus of course the making and adoption of federal policies. Proclamation No. 33/92 further elaborates on the nature of the envisaged decentralisation, the framework for revenue sharing, and arrangements for grants to, and borrowing by, the regions. Proclamation No. 41/93 also deals with the allocation of powers and duties between the executive organs of the central government and the regions, defines the region's authority with regard to the preparation of budgets and the collection of revenue.

Figure 2.2 Three Tier Structure of the Government of Ethiopia



From a political decentralisation point of view it was only in 1994 that a national constitution was adopted to form the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). As per Article 47 of the constitution of Ethiopia, the nine regions, and two special regions have the powers and functions of establishing a state administration, the enactment of a regional constitution as well as other laws, the formulation and execution of regional economic, social and development policies, including EGS, plans and strategies, the administration of land and the use of natural resources, tax collection and revenue mobilisation on sources allocated to the state; administration of state budgets and the maintenance of public order and peace in the regional state. The regional governments have 66 Zones and 556 Woredas.

2.3 Land of 'Drought and Famine'

Of all the countries synonymous with food shortage, drought and war, Ethiopia perhaps remains the most prominent. Ethiopia lies at the centre of East Africa, bounded by Eritrea (912 Kms) and Djibouti (337 Kms) to the north, Sudan (1,606 Kms) to the west, Somalia (1,626 Kms) to the East and Kenya (830 Kms) to the South. The total boundary equals some 5,311 Kms and a land mass of 1,127,127 km² with 7,444 km² of water. Ethiopia is ranked 158 out of 162 countries in the 2001 UNDP Human Development Index and has the world's highest incidence of malnutrition and one of the lowest primary education enrolment ratios. Over the past three decades, Ethiopia has suffered from wars, food shortages and famine. Over two million Ethiopians are estimated by the World Food Programme (WFP) to be chronically food insecure, while up to 10 million are vulnerable to temporary food insecurity (WFP, 2002).

Following three consecutive years of drought, over 10 million people required relief assistance in 2000: more than the great famines of 1972 and 1984²³. The border conflict with Eritrea, with a cease fire currently in place, triggered the displacement of over 300,000 people. Again, according to WFP, food aid needs for 2002 equal 369,309 mt although this is the forecast made in late December, 2001.

The Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 'World Disasters Report' of 2001 "looks at how humanitarian agencies and governments can best help disaster-affected communities to recover, to become stronger and more disaster resilient. How can the gaps between short-term relief and longer-term recovery be bridged?" (IFRC, 2001). Much of the text focuses on Ethiopia, and the struggle for recovery. According to the IFRC, of all the countries affected by disaster, the annual average number of people reported killed or affected in Ethiopia over 25 years (1970-1994) is the highest figure for an African country and the third highest in the world behind Bangladesh and

²³ We should be cautious about the use of the word famine here, as pointed out by de Waal and others, as the total numbers affected by food shortage, and the exact classification of famine differ widely.

China²⁴. Average annual figures for Ethiopians killed by disasters equals 48,464 and affected population equals 2,712,757 (ICRC. 1996) and this does not include soldiers killed in action. Food aid receipts of 5,975,172 mt for the period 1984-2001 valued in the order of €2,000,000,000, for 11,121,000 mts equal to 9.028 per cent of production over the period are also recorded²⁵. Ethiopia is ranked 171st out of 174 in the 2000 UNDP Human Development Report and life expectancy at birth averages only 43.4. Over 75 per cent of the population does not have access to potable drinking water; over 45 lack access to health services and a further 81 per cent live without sanitation. In a World Bank report entitled "Ethiopia: Transitions in a Poor Economy it was noted that social indicators (health and education)"were invariably significantly lower than the averages for sub-Saharan Africa" (2000).

Ethiopia remains structurally one of the poorest countries in the world: troubled by political insecurity and affected by recurrent natural and man made (anthropogenic) disaster – both of which must surely be connected. Excluding the influence of political decision making, poverty in rural areas is also affected by a combination of factors among which the size of land holding, lack of social capital, lack of investment in infrastructure, poor rural technology, a degraded natural resource base and lack of rainfall all have their own contribution. The areas of Ethiopia most affected by 'drought' and 'famine' tend to be those with greater land pressure, higher slopes and rural remoteness from infrastructure. All regions are affected although the areas of the north-east highlands remain the worst affected, largely because they are so populous. Despite the level of chronic poverty, and the corresponding food security problems, many areas of Ethiopia are highly productive and if enhanced watershed development strategies were devised, many small holders could benefit directly from increased direct access to production. However, as population pressure on the degraded natural resource base of the north-east highlands continues, solutions to livelihoods decline will not be found with small holder agriculture. Alternative sources of employment and income will need to be generated.

2.3.1 A Recent History of Hunger (1991-2001)

"Over the span of less than two decades, some 60 million people (primarily in the 10 disaster-prone Zones) have been receiving uninterrupted annual food assistance costing US\$ 11.28 billion" (National Programme Document, March 1994, pg. 9).

The Great Ethiopia 'famines' of 1956, 1972, 1984, 1994 and 2000 in particular were the last in a long succession of entitlement failures. The 1984 famine prompted the ITV news reporter Michael Buerk to state famously "this is a famine of truly biblical proportions" (ITV, October 1984). Since 1984 high levels of food insecurity have

²⁴ It should be acknowledged that the majority of deaths related to food insecurity do not register in such statistical analyses as a result of fact that they are not typically registered as part of a sudden onset 'disaster' but rather relate to the prevalence of chronic poverty. In addition, many deaths now occur as a result of HIV infection and Aids.

²⁵ Calculated on the basis of 1 mt = ~€250. This includes the cost of the cereals, shipping, transport, storage and delivery over the average storage period at 2000 prices.

been consistently matched by high levels of food aid assistance. The international community has imported over 11 million mt of cereals to Ethiopia since 1984 and since 1994, an average of 2.9 million households have required some kind of relief assistance every year and in 2000, over 10 million people were again recipients of relief assistance despite 10 years of economic reforms and market liberalisation.

In 1996, Ethiopia achieved over 10.38 million mt of cereal production and the GoE exported over 45,000 mt of cereals to Kenya for the first time. Amid much political praise the performance has not been matched in recent years despite the wider uptake of agricultural inputs. However, the notion of national food self sufficiency (sufficient food produced to theoretically feed the population i.e. production/per capita) should not be confused with household food security (all households having access to sufficient food for an active daily life) as the major problem which persists is not one of national production but rather one of access and disposable income. This has been termed by Sen, the difference between Food Availability Decline (FAD) and Food Entitlement Decline (FED) (Sen, 1981). Accordingly, even in 1996, which has been recorded as the greatest production year in Ethiopian history, over 2,000,000 individuals were in need of food aid assistance. As recently reported by the GoE, "between 1984 and 2001, the average level of food assistance to Ethiopia has been over 500,000 mt per year, the highest being 1,272,221 mt in 1985" (FDRE, 2000). The EGS approach has been introduced largely as a way to effectively channel relief resources to vulnerable communities and to build sustainable community based assets.

Figure 2.3 indicates the numbers beneficiaries requiring relief assistance providing an idea of the potential numbers in Ethiopia who will seek temporary employment through EGS. In 1994, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) set as minimal acceptable weighted average requirement per person day for food for work at 2,100 Kcal. The large short fall in production over the last twenty years or more has been met by food aid assistance from the EC, United States Agency for International Development (USAID, the UN Agencies (although largely through the World Food Programme (WFP) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Few would argue that such volumes of food relief assistance have not induced some kind of dependency effect and undermined local production and prices in grain markets. In recent years, as part of this acknowledgement, government and donors have focused increasingly on pre-positioning food inputs to be used through labour intensive public works schemes. The relief main appeal of DPPC is triggered by independent assessments of crop production conducted by FAO/WFP and DPPC. The results of the assessment is presented to donors in December for the main appeal (end of *meher* or long rains) and in April for the *belg* (small rains). Food aid pledges are then made and the relief food is either imported or locally purchased to support local production incentives and to provide higher producer prices. The locally purchased food is stored in the Ethiopian Food Security Reserve Administration (EFSRA) which now provides security reserves in the five most food deficit regions of Amhara, Tigray, Oromia, SNNP and Somali with warehouses in Mekele, Kombolcha, Shinille, Nazaret and Shashamene.

Figure 2.3 Relief Food Beneficiaries to Ethiopia (1978-1998)

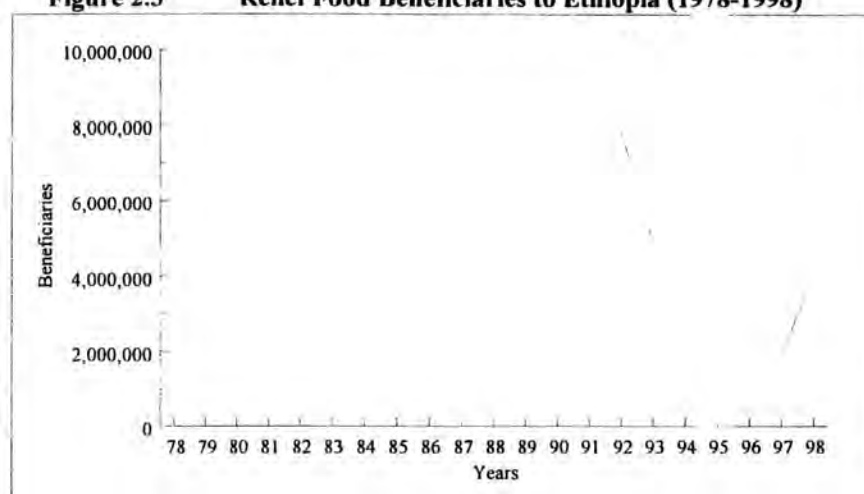


Table 2.2 below provides the food aid and food grain production figures for Ethiopia between 1985 and 2001 indicating that on average food aid is equal to approximately 9.028 per cent of agricultural production.

Table 2.2 Ethiopia – Food Aid and Food Grain Production (1985-2001)

| Year | Food Aid ¹ ('000 metric tons) | Food Grain Production ('000 metric tons) | Food Aid as Proportion of Production (%) |
|---------|---|---|--|
| 1985/86 | 1,272 | 4,855 | 26.2 |
| 1986/87 | 926 | 5,404 | 17.1 |
| 1987/88 | 277 | 6,684 | 4.1 |
| 1988/89 | 1,096 | 6,902 | 15.9 |
| 1989/90 | 461 | 6,676 | 6.9 |
| 1990/91 | 657 | 6,579 | 10.0 |
| 1991/92 | 925 | 7,078 | 12.0 |
| 1992/93 | 840 | 7,055 | 11.9 |
| 1993/94 | 519 | 7,619 | 6.8 |
| 1994/95 | 980 | 6,945 | 14.1 |
| 1995/96 | 683 | 7,492 | 9.1 |
| 1996/97 | 334 ³ | 10,328 ⁴ | 3.2 |
| 1997/98 | 199 | 10,700 | 1.8 |
| 1998/99 | 544 | 9,200 | 5.9 |
| 1999/00 | 572 | 10,208 | 5.6 |
| 2000/01 | 836 | 9,452 | 8.8 |
| Totals | 11,121 | 123,177 | 9.028 |

Source: Derived from DPPC annual Appeals and FAO/WFP field reports.

¹ All food delivered, including local purchases. For the period 1985-1994, 27 percent from USAID, 24 percent from WFP, and 19 percent from the EEC, 10 percent in addition from individual member countries of the EEC, 7 percent from Canada, 23 percent others. [Source: DPPC].

³ Commitments for the 1996 calendar year

⁴ 90 percent Meher season, 10 percent Belg

The trend in food production has increased since 1994 probably as a result of the increased land under tillage, land fragmentation leading to intensification in the smallholder system and following reallocation and increased uptake of fertilisers. As a result, the volume of food aid, as a percentage of production has fallen from more than 20 per cent in 1984 (a major famine year) to on average less than 5-7 per cent of production in recent years. However, the overall volume of food aid assistance has remained constant.

In recent years food aid has been made available both through imports and the pioneering of a Local Purchase Programme (LPP) largely initiated by the EC Food Security and Food Aid Programme (Directorate General for Development – DGVIII) and WFP based upon results of increased agricultural production in surplus producing areas. What remains significant, is that independently of trends in increased agricultural production and incomes, the nutritional status (indicated through stunting, wasting and under weight categories) is in fact increasing in real terms as Table 2.3 below shows.

Table 2.3 Prevalence of Malnutrition by Age and Sex between (1992-1995)

| | | Rural | | Rural 1994/95 | | | 1995/96 | | |
|----------|--------|-------|------|---------------|---------|---------|---------|-------|-------|
| | Gender | 1983 | 1992 | Round 1 | Round 2 | Round 3 | Urban | Rural | Total |
| Stunting | Female | 58.6 | 65.7 | 53.7 | 55.3 | 55.2 | | | 63.8 |
| | Male | 60.9 | 62.7 | 53.4 | 58.4 | 56.5 | | | 65.2 |
| | Both | 59.8 | 64.2 | 53.5 | 56.9 | 55.9 | 56.3 | 68.7 | 64.9 |
| Wasting | Female | 7.6 | 7.2 | 9.2 | 12.5 | 13.3 | | | 11.1 |
| | Male | 8.6 | 8.7 | 11.5 | 9.0 | 14.2 | | | 10.5 |
| | Both | 8.1 | 8.0 | 10.4 | 10.7 | 13.7 | 9.3 | 10.4 | 10.8 |

.... No data

Sources: PHRD Study Number 2.b, 1996; PHRD Study Number 2.a, 1996; and Central Statistical Authority 1992.

The increased incidence of stunting and wasting, as indicated above, is a stark reminder of the crisis in the rural economy. It has been reported by the World Bank that despite considerable investments in rural areas in Ethiopia in recent years the levels of 'stunting' and 'wasting'²⁶ continue to rise. The report stated that "In rural areas, the proportion of both male and female children under six who were stunted increased between 1983 and 1992, from 60 to 64 per cent. The proportion of children wasted seems to have increased rather steadily over the reporting period, particularly through the 1990s. Data for 1996 suggests that malnutrition is significantly worse in rural areas than in urban areas" (World Bank, 1998: pp. 53). The figures provided above show a deterioration in nutritional status which is extremely alarming given the recent increased trends in agricultural production. This alone demonstrates that supply and demand for food are discrete factors.

A recent World Bank study, the Social Sector Report, stated that "nutritional deficiencies in Ethiopia directly account for 7.8 per cent of all deaths" and that "an

²⁶

Stunting means height for age and wasting corresponds to weight for height.

estimated 52 per cent of the country is food insecure with average consumption of approximately 1,770 Kcal per capita, 16 per cent below the minimum level accepted by the government. To achieve the FAO/WHO recommended per capita calorie intake of 2,000 Kcal per person per day total food production needs to increase by 6.5 per cent per year". (World Bank, 1998). Moreover, it should once again be recognised that growth on the agricultural sector alone does not imply equitable access and distribution. Purchase relates to effective purchasing power.

In contradiction to the above, the World Bank also insists that "remarkable changes are beginning in Ethiopia's agriculture after decades of slow growth in which both food and agricultural production fell behind population growth, and both food aid and food imports increased" (World Bank, 1997). How has a relatively strong economic performance, growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) equaling 2.01 per cent for 1991-1998 (EEA, 2000) been matched by increased livelihood stress and chronic food insecurity?

2.3.2 Who are the Vulnerable?

In order to assess the vulnerability of different groups, it is useful to categorise groups into 'chronic' and 'transitory'. A simple yet relatively accurate classification of chronic and transitory food insecure groups in Ethiopia is given in Table 2.4 below.

The classification also splits the groups by urban and rural centres and others. While not exhaustive, it clearly shows the major social groups affected by food insecurity and these remain the main target groups for food security related interventions in Ethiopia. These include small holders occupying marginal land, under capitalised households, female headed households and the landless in particular. Low income groups such as these will need to receive preferential access to EGS programmes.

Table 2.4 Chronic and Transitory Food Insecure Groups by Area

| | Rural | Urban | Others |
|-------------------|---|---|---|
| Chronic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resource poor households: - Landless or land-scarce - ox-less - poor pastoralists - female-headed households - elderly - disabled - poor non-agricultural households - newly established settlers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low income households - employed in the informal sector - Groups outside the labour market: - Elderly - Disabled - Some female-headed households | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Refugees - Displaced people - Ex-soldiers |
| Transitory | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Less resource poor households vulnerable to shocks, especially but not only drought: - Farmers and others in drought-prone areas - Pastoralists - Others vulnerable to economic shocks, e.g., in low potential areas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Urban poor vulnerable to economic shocks, especially those causing food price rises - Urban poor displaced by protracted war | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Groups affected by temporary civil unrest |

Source: Adapted from Maxwell (1995)

Despite the positive picture painted in the Government, as already stated, prevalence of malnutrition in Ethiopia continues to rise and a large proportion of the population face chronic food insecurity and unacceptable livelihoods. This is despite increasing domestic food production and considerable levels of external support, principally in the form of food aid. Malnutrition is more acute in rural areas than in urban areas. Chronic undernourishment is reflected in a very high incidence of stunting among children and low life expectancies. Child under-nutrition is particularly damaging as it results in a life-long reduction in physical and mental capabilities.

Food insecurity and vulnerability to poverty are characterised by marginal land holdings, degraded natural and livestock resources, dependence upon rain-fed agriculture, low levels of capital formation, weak local institutions, poor access to essential services and long-term entitlement decline associated with a worsening terms of trade. Conflict too continues to undermine public investments in health, education, roads and agriculture. However, the vulnerability of different groups is dynamic. For example, in Ethiopia the number of displaced generally remains low when compared to those annually affected by drought and shortfalls in production. However, in May 1998, the Eritrean invasion into Badme, Erob and Bure in northern Tigray and the Afar national regional states led to the displacement of over 300,000 people with a further 300,000 considered to be at risk. While such displacement can be considered transitory, the case of Ethiopian returnees from Eritrea should be considered a chronic problem as they returned without any significant productive assets and have no access to land. Upon return, lack of investment, political uncertainty and mine fields will welcome them.

2.3.3 Growth, Rural Development and Poverty Reduction

Since 1991 the FDRE has begun to address major structural, policy and institutional constraints to growth and the agricultural sector in particular is in the process of being transformed to promote economic growth. However, a 1995/96, rural households survey by the Addis Ababa University in co-operation with the Oxford University Center for the Study of African Economies presented the situation of Ethiopians at various stages of the life cycle and highlighted key problems and constraints related to health and education in particular. This information is presented in Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5 Situation of Ethiopians at Various Stages of the Life Cycle

| Stage in the Life Cycle | Population Based on the 1994 Census | Situation, Problems and Constraints |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Infants (Birth to 1 year) | 1.8 million | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 15% born with low birth weight (less than 1 Kg) - 120,000 wasted (low weight for height) - 12% (216,000) die before 1st birthday from ARI, malnutrition, diarrhea, measles |
| Early Childhood (1-5 years) | 8.4 million | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 25% report illness episodes in past 2 months - 60% stunted (low height for age), 11% wasted |
| Primary School Age (7-14 years) | 12.0 million | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only 8% (120,000) of 7 year olds are enrolled in grade 1 - 17% (2.1 million) enrolled in primary school (29% enrolment if older children included); majority of children out of school. - Average age of grade 1 pupil: 11 years old - 31% suffer from iodine deficiency disorders |
| Adolescents (11-14 years) | 4.8 million | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Early marriage – 35% of girls married before 15 - 70% of girls married by age 17 - 90% female genital mutilation - 43% participation in labour force (18% female) |
| Adults (15-64 years) | 27.5 million | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 25% are malnourished or have low body mass index - Sick 18-40 days a year - Total fertility rate 6.1 - 7% contraceptive prevalence - Maternal mortality rate of 540-1500 per 100,000 births - 16% of all deaths due to prenatal-maternal problems - Life Expectancy 49 years |
| Elderly (above 64 years) | 1.9 million | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 35% report illness in past 2 months |

Source: PHRD HICE/WMS 1995/96 survey; AAU-Oxford Survey; Population Census 1994

The 'life cycle' characteristics provided above provide a graphic illustration of the extent of both chronic (stunting at 60 per cent) and transitory (wasting) under-nutrition. Both are widespread, life expectancy is poor at 49 years and declining with the impact of Aids, maternal mortality and school enrolment are also unacceptably low. Clearly poverty and hunger are related phenomenon.

To combat the crisis in social welfare and protection, the GoE has instituted a number of major policy shifts in the agricultural sector to include market liberalisation, the restructuring of public sector enterprises, the re-organisation of public sector research and extension systems, increasing land and tree tenure security, focusing on environmental degradation, improving both storage and handling as well as transport infrastructure, political and administrative reforms based upon regionalisation, and, poverty alleviation and employment. The core thinking of the Government is found is encapsulated by four clear policy items as summarised below:

1. The strategy of Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation (ADLI) where by agriculture will serve as the driving force for the rest of the economy. This is essentially a statement of commitment towards the rural economy.

2. The second policy item is that of the role of state. The GoE has a broader role for state than classically seen in neo-classical economics. State interventionism remains a major policy option.
3. The third policy item focuses on urban development and is linked to ADLI.
4. The fourth key policy item focuses on the process of federal decentralisation as a way of increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of public expenditure management.

However, many of the measures introduced have fallen short of their intended impact. Reforms urgently need to be pushed through if Ethiopia is to realise the challenge of achieving sustainable rural employment and development through agricultural sector growth. Moreover, and in order to do this successfully, the government would do well not to ignore land tenure policies (currently no private ownership allowed), the role of female farmers and producers, agricultural taxation and potential for targeted one of subsidies, rural development investment opportunities, focusing of household food security and not national food self sufficiency (which are linked but also distinct concepts) and adopting land tenure policies which lead towards land ownership and not land tenancy. However, the task of poverty alleviation is complicated by the fact that over 20 million Ethiopians are estimated to be in a state of chronic poverty in rural areas (World Bank, 1997). Employment opportunities will therefore need to be urgently expanded largely through agricultural sector activities as employment through the industrial and service sectors remains relatively undeveloped.

Ethiopia's social development indicators remain among the worst in Africa and the continued low provision of health and education services only compounds rural poverty of which access to food is a major component. Poverty, caused by poor employment opportunities remains a significant problem and three scenarios generated by the World Bank in 1997 forecast possible changes in sectoral employment in Ethiopia over the next 15 years. The middle scenario, is based upon the doubling of per capita incomes over 15 years and growth in labour force of 3 per cent per annum. The labour force was anticipated to grow at lower rates than respective production, to allow for increases in productivity implied by rising incomes. Under this scenario, incomes would grow by 52 per cent in agriculture, 98 per cent in services and 93 per cent in industry, However, even this scenario would still mean that 80 per cent of the labour force was involved in the agriculture sector (World Bank, 1997)

As part of the reform process the government objective of doubling per capita incomes in 15 years "implies incomes growing at 4.75 per cent in real terms per annum. Since the population is growing at 3 per cent p.a., GDP must increase at more than 7 per cent p.a. to achieve the required growth" (FDRE, 1996). Between 1980 and 1990 "agricultural production grew by less than 1 per cent" (Demeke, 1996) and the scale of Ethiopia's net food deficit between 1974 and 1994 remains significant (Figure above). The scale of the national net food deficit has been of set largely through imports of food aid which has been targeting, in recent years anyway, through EGS project implementation. However, it is hard to understand how it was only after 1984

that national deficits were registered and most likely that production figures prior to 1984 were misreported in relation to the population census. Despite trends showing increased productivity in the agricultural centre the national deficit remains.

Ethiopia suffers from structural and transitory food insecurity and even if national food self sufficiency is attained, as has recently been stated by the Prime Minister of the FDRE, Meles Zenawi²⁷, pockets of vulnerable communities will continue to exist at various levels. It would be worthwhile stating that, while the government claims that food aid requests are purely a response to food emergencies, it should be noted that in places like eastern Zone of Tigray, north and south Wollo, east Haraghe, North Omo etc. the same families have been food aid recipients for 15 years or more. These families should not be seen as emergency victims but rather chronically vulnerable. Despite the recent down turn in food aid demand from Ethiopia, as indicated above, the nutritional status of the average Ethiopian, appears to be further declining. The volume of food aid channelled to Ethiopia probably depends as much on the GoE's ability to be able to request aid and the ability of donors to be able to provide it rather than the numbers of vulnerable.

The GoE Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) presented in 2001 claims that macroeconomic indicators of the performance of the Ethiopian economy during the 1990s show a declining trend in levels of poverty. GDP grew at 5.5 per cent on average during 1992/93 – 1997/98 with sectoral growth rates of 3.4 per cent for agriculture, 7.3 per cent for industry and 7.7 per cent for services. Despite the centrality of agriculture as a means of employment, the poverty reduction process in Ethiopia will continue to revolve around four major elements as follows: ADLI, judiciary and civil service reform, decentralisation and empowerment and capacity building in public and private sectors.

As part of this challenge the NPDPM aims to guarantee food security in vulnerable areas in the medium term and in November, 1996 the Ethiopian Food Security Strategy was jointly prepared by government and World Bank. The strategy is to be operationalised by the recent introduction of regional food security programmes which focus on both supply and demand areas. In 1997 the federal DPPC finalised the EGS Guideline, within which the objectives of the NPDPM were largely vested and in 1998 a regional and national food security programmes were prepared.

2.4 Research Areas

For the purpose of conducting this research it has been necessary to select more defined geographical areas within which to examine the poverty reduction impact of

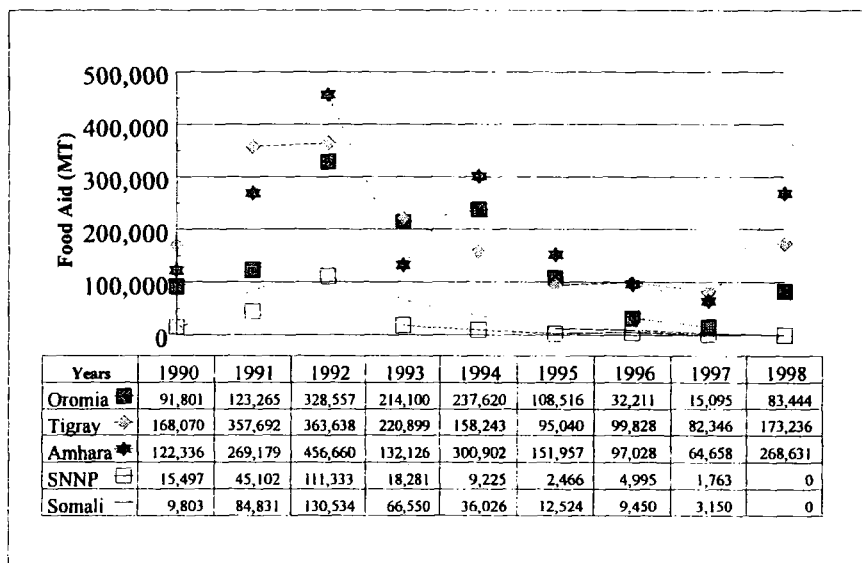
²⁷ In a televised meeting of the House of Peoples' Representatives on the 05.12.1997 Prime Minister Meles Zenawi announced that Ethiopia was food self-sufficient. He stated that 'agricultural production for 1996 was up 20%' and that with the help of the EU's Local Purchase Programme (LPP) excess production was purchased for the Ethiopian Food Security Reserve. He said the food security initiative was donor supported and he called upon all regional governments to develop their own food security strategies.

EGS programmes. As already stated, the importance of comparing Ethiopia with Maharashtra State in India is clear. The Ethiopian EGS was modelled on the Maharashtra experience and much can therefore be learned by relating the policy, institutional and implementation arrangements for the programme. The research relating to EGS policies and institutional arrangements therefore focuses at the level of Maharashtra State and at the Federal level of Ethiopia. This is the level where policy and institutional frameworks are established.

For research related to implementation, where the effects of the policy and institutional framework can be seen most clearly, it has been necessary to select a number of regions within Ethiopia, where the incidence of poverty and hunger are high. Accordingly, the two most vulnerable regions of Ethiopia, Amhara and Tigray national regional states, and more precisely an area known as the north east highlands, were selected because at present over 60 per cent of Ethiopia's vulnerable population are located here according to the annual relief assessment of DPPC. These vulnerable groups, are direct beneficiaries of the EGS programme.

A comparison of the food aid requirements for a selected number of regions is given in Figure 2.4 below although, it should be noted that the population of Tigray is in fact approximately 20 per cent of both Amhara and Oromia and therefore the food aid requirement per head of population far outweighs those of other regions. If this were taken into consideration and a weighted variable given, then the food aid requirement of Tigray region would be unmatched in the context of Ethiopia and perhaps even internationally. It should be noted that recent food aid deliveries to both Oromia and SNNP regions have decreased significantly in the last 2-3 years.

Figure 2.4 Food Aid Deliveries by Region (1990-1998)



The results for food aid receipts by region show the centrality of Amhara and Tigray as the highest receivers of food aid, and therefore a reflection of the levels of vulnerability, both chronic and transitory, faced by communities. The decline in food aid assistance as shown in Figure 2.4, does not reflect the reality as food aid receipts for 2001 again topped the 1.2 million mt mark. However, figures for food aid disaggregated by regions were only available up to the end of 1998. does not necessarily deflect from the recent findings of the World Bank (as already expanded above) which appears to show that under nutrition is not improving.

All regions of Ethiopia are prone to different types of events from shortage of food to war. In a recent survey by Stefen Dercon the four major regions of Ethiopia underwent a rural Households Survey the results of which are given below in Table 2.6. The percentage of villages reporting a particular type of event causing considerable hardship (loss of income or wealth) between 1974 and 1995 is given as the percentage of survey households. Within brackets the mode year of the event reportedly occurring within the sample is provided. The answers are grouped by themes.

Table 2.6 Disaster Reports for Amhara, Oromia, NSSP and Tigray Region of Ethiopia²⁸

| | Villages in Tigray (2) | Villages in Amhara (4) | Villages in Oromia (4) | Villages in SNNP (5) |
|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| War | 15 (1988) | 10 (1989) | 3 (1991) | 5 (1975) |
| Harvest failure | 96 (1984) | 86 (1984) | 66 (1984) | 74 (1984) |
| Labour problems | 50 (1987) | 29 (1993) | 34 (1991) | 54 (1993) |
| Land problems | 36 (1976) | 14 (1985) | 17 (1986) | 14 (1974) |
| oxen problems | 73 (1993) | 47 (1987) | 25 (1985) | 33 (1992) |
| other livestock | 69 (1984) | 36 (1984) | 30 (1991) | 30 (1984) |
| policy | 40 (1984) | 44 (1986) | 35 (1985) | 50 (1985) |
| crime/banditry | 5 (1986) | 2 (1986) | 1 (1988) | 4 (1990) |
| assets losses | 13 (1984) | 18 (1986) | 15 (1985) | 15 (1990) |

Source: Data from Ethiopian Rural Household Survey, table taken from: Dercon, Poverty in Rural Ethiopia 1989-1995: an exploration using qualitative and quantitative information on welfare outcomes, Draft - June 1998

This again supports the notion that both Amhara and Tigray are more persistently affected by harvest failure than other regions therefore apparently justifying the level

²⁸ war: abduction men and women, destruction market, destruction of crops and livestock, death or disability due to war.

harvest: drought, flood, pests, storage losses, frost, etc.

labour problems: illness or death household members, divorce, etc.

land problems: land reform and nationalisation, loss of land due to disputes, transfers to family members, etc.

asset losses: destruction of house (fire, etc.), theft, house loss due to villagisation, etc.

oxen problems: disease, theft, drought related death and distress sales, etc.

other livestock: disease, theft, drought related death and distress sales, etc.

policy: villagisation, resettlement, ban on migration, ban on wage labour, AMC quotas, taxation and forced contribution, forced labour, etc.

crime/banditry: theft, killing, wounding, disability due to banditry or other crime.

of relief and development assistance committed to these two regions by both government and international donors. However, it is also clear from the data presented that different instruments can be used to address these problems.

2.5 Selection of Research Regions

In selecting Amhara and Tigray as research regions, within which to demonstrate the impact of the overall policy and institutional framework, the following summaries are presented outlining the basic geographical, economic, social and environmental characteristics. In many respects, the research areas identified within each region have similar livelihood constraints as they all are based in what are generically referred to as the north-east highlands of Ethiopia. The north-east highlands are a mountainous area characterised by over population, a degraded natural resource base, small holdings averaging ½ ha for a family of five, and few opportunities for non agricultural income generation.

Both regions are taking extensive measures in the area of soil and water conservation (soil erosion control, irrigation development, reforestation and area enclosures etc), promotion of extension services to disseminate high yielding improved varieties and inputs such as fertiliser and packages to moist and moisture stress environments respectively, better and appropriate land use planning and improvements in infrastructure that embraces water supply development, irrigation promotion and social services enhancement. In summary, the following key areas of sectoral focus have been identified by both regions as focal areas for the achievement of economic growth and prosperity as shown in Table 2.7 below.

Table 2.7 Areas of Sectoral Focus for Amhara and Tigray

| Sector | Purpose | Main Focus |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Environmental Rehabilitation | Improved natural resource base | - Soil & Water conservation; - Reforestation; - Area enclosures |
| 2. Agricultural Production | Increased household food Production | - Agri. extension packages; - Livestock development; - Small Scale & Traditional Irrigation |
| 3. Rural Socio-economic Infrastructure | Improved access to rural Socio-economic services | - Road construction; - Drinking Water Supply - Household energy - Educational and Services - Market development |
| 4. Income generation and supportive services | Increased/improved access to and availability of Credit & saving facilities and increased purchasing power of the beneficiaries | - Identification of project beneficiaries - Skill development on off-farm activities - Provision of credit services |
| 5. Capacity Building and research | Improved Skill of Beneficiaries Strengthen research centres | - Training of farmers and development agents - Research activities - Construction of training centres |

The sectors outlined above are now co-ordinated by the newly established Regional FSU which are responsible for the co-ordination of all food security related

interventions in the region including EGS. These units were established with the assistance of the researcher in his post as an EC Food Security Advisor. Among the most developed sectors in recent years is the micro-finance sector which has an important role to play in poverty alleviation and hunger eradication.

2.6 Amhara National Regional State²⁹³⁰

The Amhara National Region State (Region 3) (Fig 2.5 below), has a population of over 15 million and borders Tigray to the north, the Afar in the east, Oromia in the south, Benshangul Gemuz in the south west and Sudan in the north west. The region covers 170,752 Km² and is composed of five main ethnic groups namely the, Amhara, Agew, Awe, Hemra and Oromo among others. The region is subdivided into ten administrative Zones which encompass the five agro-ecological Zones with an altitudinal variation ranging between 700-4000 metres. In addition to the above annual rainfall deviates from 500-1400 mm per annum and it is these conditional ecological and meteorological variations which support a range in production profiles in different areas. The most vulnerable Zones include north Wollo (where Korem, the epicentre of the 1984 famine is situated) and south Wollo, south Gondar and Wag Himra. These areas are in the north of Amhara and are part of the north-east highland massif. From a food production perspective, altitude, rainfall, soil fertility, cultural farming practices and land holding size are all significant factors affecting vulnerability.

In Amhara National Regional State the following Socio-economic and political conditions prevail as detailed in the Amhara Five year Plan for Peace, Democracy and Development.

- a) The population of the region is now over 15 million³⁰ of which 89 per cent are made up of rural farmers and 11 per cent are urban dwellers;
- b) Annual regional agricultural production is estimated at 109 Kg per capita and industrial production at approximately Ethiopian Birr (ETB) 17 per capita;
- c) The regional administration received ETB a little over 1 billion ETB annual budget in 2001 of which approximately 50 per cent is recurrent expenditure and 50 per cent capital. Multi-lateral, bilateral and NGO finance provide a significant contribution to social protection programmes in the most arid areas of Amhara.
- d) The region is endowed with 4.7 million hectares of cultivable land (27 per cent), area suitable for livestock grazing (30 per cent), area under forest and shrub cover (14.7 per cent), area under human habitation (5.3 per cent), area covered by water (3 per cent) and barren and uncultivable land (19 per cent);

²⁹ The geographical research areas adopted for this research project are the North-east highlands of the Amhara and Tigray National Regional States and accordingly, prior to assessing the specific conditions of these areas an assessment is made of the Amhara and Tigray regional states so as to present a suitable framework for further inquiry. The summary includes an overview of the specific, geographical, political, economic, social and ecological aspects of the regions as well as an assessment of their food insecurity.

³⁰ Population Census, 1994.

- e) Livestock resources include 6 million cattle, 8 million shoats, 1.5 million pack animals, 8 million hens and over 500,000 traditional beehives; and,
- f) Three major rivers drain through the region (the Abay, Tekeze and Awash) theoretically providing more than sufficient water for household consumption and irrigation. Untapped ground water is also believed to be significant.

Sources: The Amhara Five Year Peace, Democracy and Development Plan (2000), Five Year Regional Food Security Programme (1998-2002) and the Amhara Promotional EGS by Middlebrook et al (1998).

Figure 2.5 Amhara National Regional State



The Amhara region suffers from both chronic and transitory food security problems in 49 declared drought prone areas and it is unlikely that structural food self sufficiency will be achieved in the short term. Most drought prone Woredas are in North and South Wollo, North Gondar and Wage Himera Zones where annual rainfall can be as

low as 500 mm forcing farmers to engage in rain-fed agriculture in low potential areas. An additional obstacle to long term structural change is the over dependence on ancient agricultural techniques and relatively low capacity of the extension system as a whole. There are only a number of surplus producing areas located in the west of Amhara region. However, in these areas production just exceeds household food requirements and marketable surplus remains low. The remaining areas of the region are all deficit areas and are in need of long term support whether through EGS.

In balance, the high potential areas within the region are unfortunately offset by the very low potential of 47 drought prone Woredas towards the east and although much development activity is focused in these areas a high percentage is still based around relief/rehabilitation activities. Vulnerable groups frequently include Female Headed Households (FHH), households with aged persons and low access to male labour, and poor households without oxen. However, assessment makes clear that lack of high quality cultivable land, labour, seeds and tools, draught power, livestock and other productive assets leaves 20-30 per cent of the most vulnerable groups in desperate conditions. Such conditions call for temporary employment generation to fill the food gap at a household level. In recent years, however, the Amhara region would appear to have nearly achieved food self sufficiency, however, as previously stated, food availability and access are different concepts and over 2.5 million people in the region suffer from either chronic or transitory food insecurity. In many areas such as North and South Wollo, south Gondar and Wag Himra the agricultural environment is so infertile that it is unlikely that any quantum leap in food production can be attained in the medium to long term future. However, in the bumper harvest year of 1996/97 Amhara reportedly supplied the equivalent of 218 Kg of cereals per capita equal to 97 per cent of the total production requirement. This figure includes food aid through DPPC and NGOs. Such external assistance has accounted for a varying annual percentage in food aid when compared to local production.

Figure 2.6 Food Aid Deliveries to Amhara National Regional State (1990-1998)

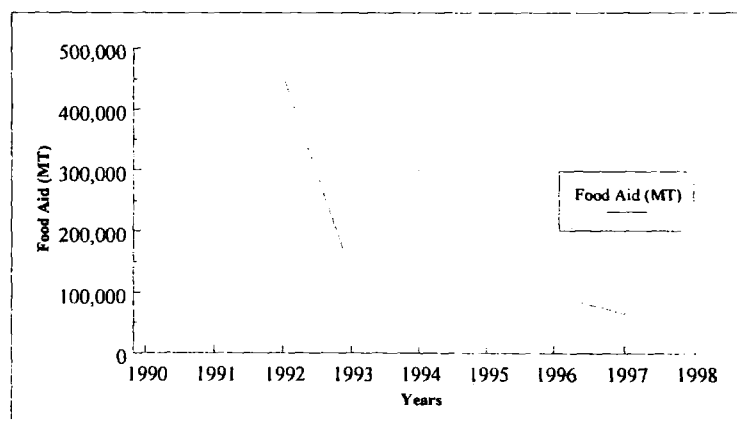
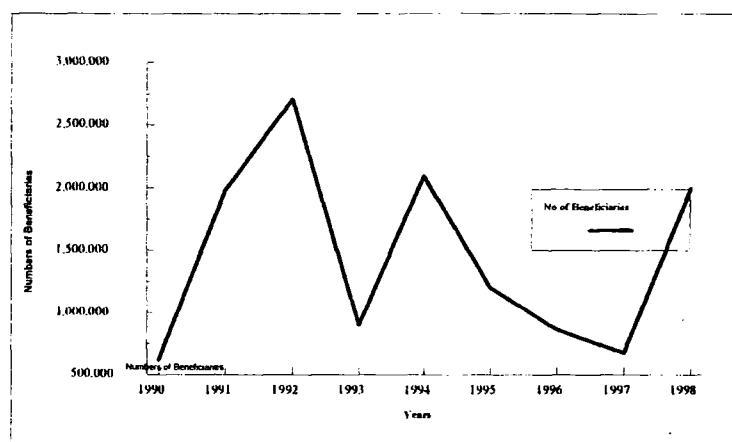


Figure 2.6 above provides the food aid deliveries to Amhara from 1990 to 1998 depicting that despite drives in regional self sufficiency, the long term requirement for livelihood support remains clear. Figure 2.7 below again presents the numbers of food aid beneficiaries for the same period. Both figures highlight parallel trends in food

aid deliveries and numbers of beneficiaries. Individuals suffering from food insecurity are classified as such on the basis of an assessment of nutritional consumption per day. All individuals consuming less than 2,100 Kcal per day are classified as food insecure. This is approximately equivalent to 225 Kg of cereal consumption per annum which can be met either through on farm production and/or the substitution of off farm income for food.

Figure 2.7 Food Aid Beneficiaries in Amhara National Regional State (1990-1998)



The food security challenge within the region is therefore how best to balance the approach to increase food availability through either production or through imports while strengthening access to food, effective demand, by vulnerable groups. In 2001, over 3 million people in Amhara required food assistance equalling ~14 per cent of the population of Amhara. Addressing the poverty and hunger problem will be difficult as population growth within the region is at 3 per cent and population is expected to double over the next 23 years. Neither the area under production or the productive capacity of the land can guarantee sufficient supply to the future population. Social protection, through EGS, therefore remains a programme of increasing social significance.

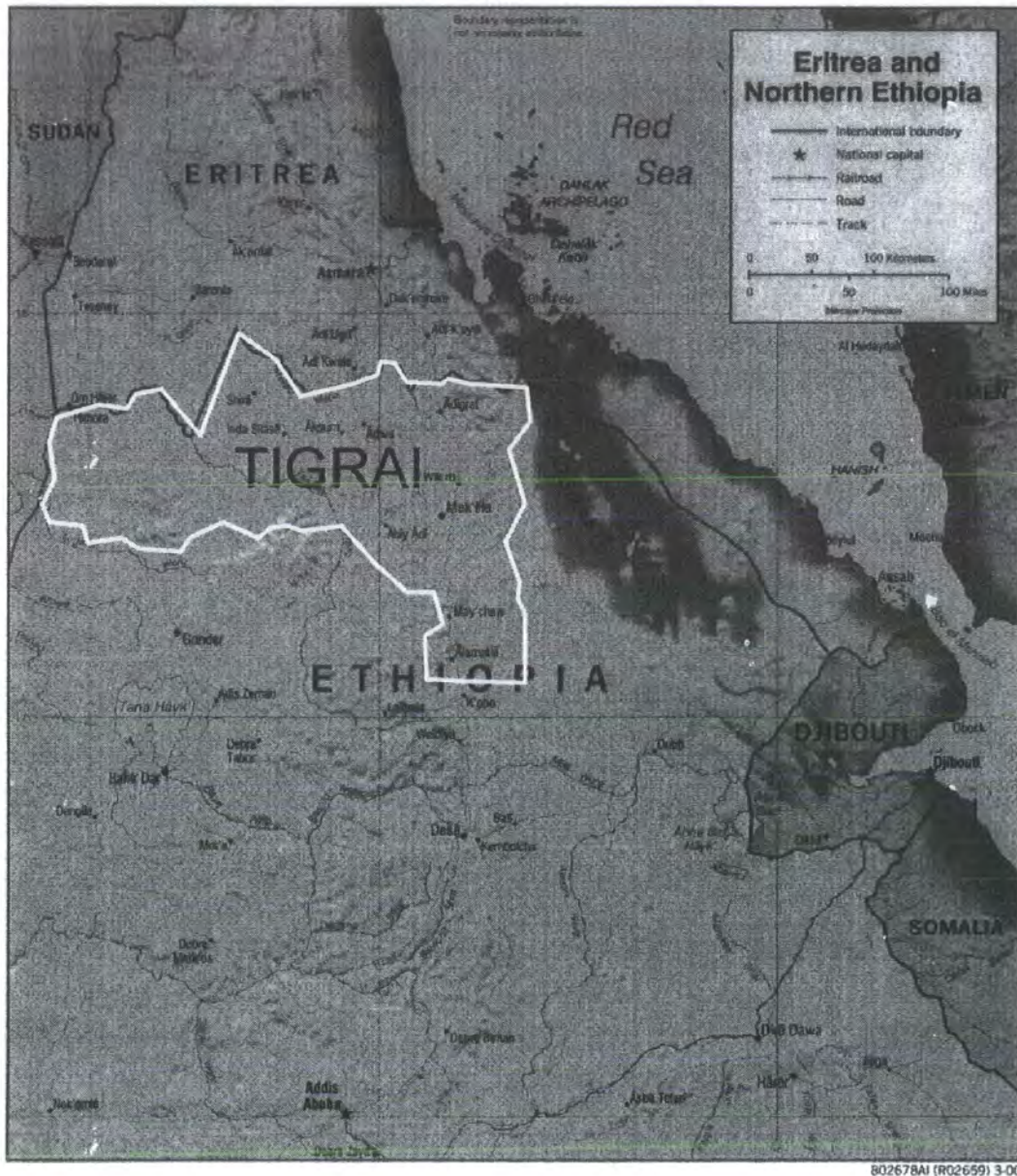
2.7 Tigray National Regional State

The Tigray National Region State (Region 1) (Figure 2.8), with a population of 3.4 million, is the northern most region in the FDRE bordering the state of Eritrea in the North, the Sudan Republic in the West, Tigray Region in the South and Afar Region in the East. It is estimated by the Central Statistics Authority (CSA) that 83 per cent of the population live in rural areas and the remainder per cent in urban areas. The density of the population in relation to area is 41.1 people per sq. km. The source of livelihood of these people (83%) like the majority of the population of Ethiopia is agriculture.

The Region covers an area of 53,638 km², most of which is high land and plateau interspersed with low laying hills and flat lands with an altitudinal variation ranging between 1500-3000 metres above sea level. The region is subdivided into five

administrative Zones: Western; Central; Eastern; Southern; and Mekele, the regional capital; comprising a total of 35 Woredas (districts) and 660 Tabias (sub-districts) The climate is characterised by high variability of temperature with altitude, and some times falls as low as 0.6°C for each 100 m altitude. The over all temperature, ranges from 5°C to 40°C . With some exception, the rainfall of the Region varies from 400-800mm which makes the Region usually moisture deficit resulting in recurrent droughts. These are important characteristics as they define the nature of rural livelihoods and the nature of market based opportunities; thus the incidence of poverty and hunger.

Figure 2.8 Tigray National Regional State



The region is to be considered a highland area, which consists of plateau's and hilly areas dissected by deep river valleys. In the east of Tigray, there is an escarpment which drops from 2000 metres above sea level steeply to 500 metres above sea level. In the western escarpment the area is largely made of plateau's and is mountainous.

The altitude of this area ranges from 1500 - 3000 metres above sea level. The elevation of the area again drops as you move further to the west to make up the western lowlands where food production is sufficient to meet local market demand. The altitude ranges from 500 - 1,500 metres above sea level in the Western part of the region.

Rainfall increases from east to west, and decreases from south to north. In areas on the margin and the highlands of the escarpment the amount of rainfall received is around 450 mm. Furthermore, around the Axum³¹ highlands the amount ranges up to 980 mm and in south western Tigray the average rainfall is again almost 1,000mm. Precipitation occurs from mid June to mid September and it is particularly intense during July and August. In south west of Tigray, during March, April and May, there is occurrence of rainfall called the “*Belg*” rain which brings in the *belg* harvest. Generally the characteristics of rainfall is unimodal, with exception of the south west which is bimodal. This has important ramifications on both the agricultural labour periods, and therefore the periods where EGS programmes should be scaled up.

From the cultivable land around 1,000,000 hectares of land's is being cultivated by small holders. Based on this assumption about 500,000 hectares of cultivable land has not been developed. However, in many areas there is heavy pressure on farmlands. Marginal land with steep slopes are being tilled in many areas. The average land holding in the region varies from one location to another. Where the population density is very high the holding size ranges from 0.3-0.9 hectare. In the lowlands which are sparsely populated compared to the highlands, the size of holdings is 2 hectares. The yield per hectare of the holdings of the small holder is on average 5.6 quintals depending on which crop is being planted.

In Tigray National Regional State the following Socio-economic and political conditions prevail as detailed in the Five Years Development Peace and Democracy Plan Guideline for Implementation. (2000). In this document the following Socio-economic and conditions were stated to prevail.

- a) The population of the region is now over 3.4 million³² of which 87 per cent are made up of rural farmers and 13 per cent are urban dwellers;
- b) Annual regional agricultural production is estimated at 102 Kg per capita;
- c) The regional administration received about 350 million ETB annual budget in 2001 of which approximately 52 per cent is recurrent expenditure and 48 per cent capital. Multi-lateral, bilateral and NGO finance provide a significant contribution to social protection programmes in the most arid areas of Amhara.
- d) The costs of reconstruction after the recent war with Eritrea, an off budgetary resource, is likely to equal some US\$300 million.

³¹ The historic city of Axum, once the centre of the Axumite Kingdom, is believed to hold the Ark of the Covenant.

³² Housing and Population Census for Amhara National Regional State, 1996, Central Statistics Authority (CSA)

- e) It is reported that about 19 per cent of the land area, i.e. about 1,500,000 hectares of land is cultivable (BOA, 1996).
- f) Livestock resources include 1.4 million cattle, 2.1 million shoats, 550,000 pack animals, 1.5 million hens and over 250,000 traditional beehives; and,
- g) There are three river basins, the Mereb basin, Tekezze basin, and Afar basin. Mereb drains northern Tigray westwards to the Sudan and is seasonal. The Tekezze river flows through central and southern Tigray westwards to the Sudan. The Afar basin drains the eastern escarpment, the streams are seasonal and flow eastwards to the Afar Depression. Again, untapped ground water is also believed to be significant.

Sources: The Tigray Five Year Peace, Democracy and Development Plan (2000), Five Year Regional Food Security Programme (1998-2002) and the Tigray Promotional EGS by Middlebrook et al (1998).

To minimise the degradation of natural resources conservation measures are being undertaken at the initiative of the regional council and Bureau of Agriculture (BOA). On this basis in 1994-1998, 4,312,000 person days of labour were used to conserve 340,000 hectares of soil through the construction of stone and soil bunds, 2,800 Kms of check dams and 20,000 hectares of repair work of soil and water conservation structures (TNRS, 2000). To undertake reforestation, 623 nurseries have been established and approximately 200 million seedlings of different species have been raised. Tree planting has been carried out in 106,600 hectares of land and area closure has been implemented on 135,423 hectares of land having indigenous species of plants (Middlebrook, 1997). However, despite the potential impact of such conservation works, conservation has failed to lead to significant production increases in the last few years although particularly in horticultural production.

The problem of food insecurity in the region has two dimensions. One dimension is the inability of the household to produce all its food requirements because of lack of access and diminishing quality of productive resources combined with an unfavourable or highly variable production environment. The other dimension is the inability to acquire food from the markets because of inadequate household purchasing power (few off farm income opportunities) and/or unreliable markets, which deliver food at very high prices.

The primary aim of the strategy is food self-sufficiency, focused on appropriate rural development, encompassing the following: mitigation of ecological degradation; raising of agricultural output, to ensure food self sufficiency in the region; infrastructure rehabilitation and expansion; reduction of population pressure on land; encouragement of private sector participation in economic development; containment of population growth; promotion of human resource development; and, enhancement of participatory development approach .

It can be observed that both chronic and transitory food security problems exist. As stated in the national food security strategy document, taking the broadest level of average calorie needs, individual's suffering from food insecurity are classified as those all who are consuming less than 2,100 Kcal per day are classified as food

insecure. This is approximately equivalent to 225 Kg of cereal consumption per annum which can be met either through on farm production and/or the substitution of off-farm income for food.

Figure 2.9 below presents the annual food aid deliveries for Tigray region from 1990 to 1998 and Figure 2.10 presents the numbers of beneficiaries of food aid for the same period.

Figure 2.9 Food Aid Deliveries to Tigray National Regional State(1990-1998)

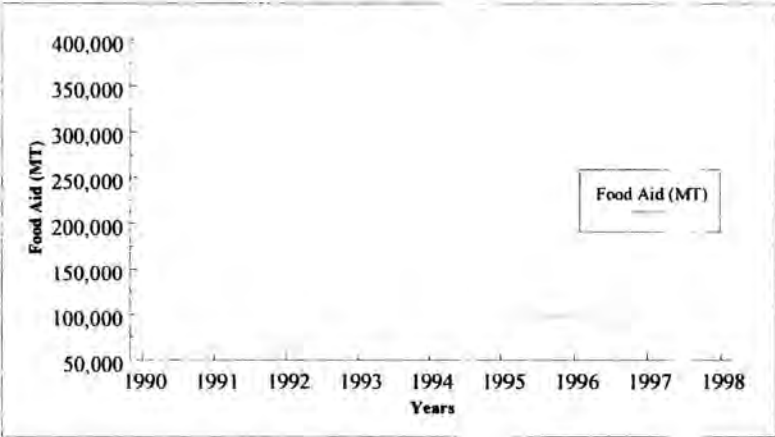
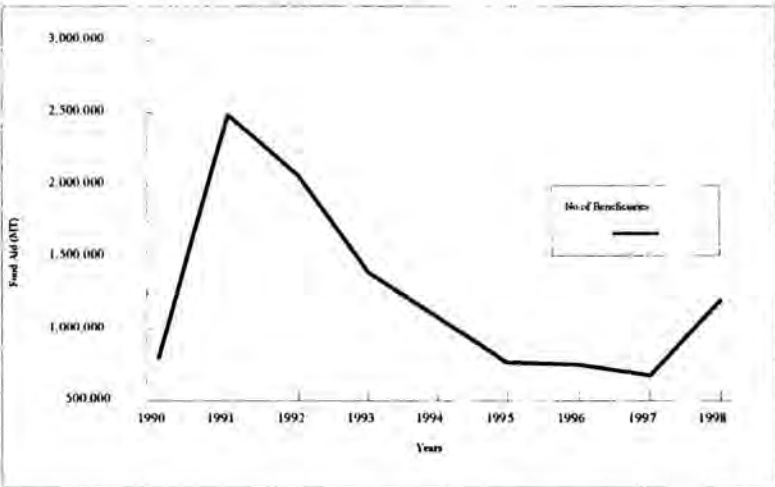


Figure 2.10 Food Aid Beneficiaries in Tigray National Regional State (1990-1998)



The trends run broadly in parallel with the exception that in 1992 food aid deliveries were higher, showing that each beneficiary received food aid support for a longer period than in previous years (usually ranging from 3 to exceptionally 12 months).

In 1998, an estimated 1.2 million people (around 33 per cent of the rural population) in the region were estimated to be in need of food assistance amounting to 173, 236 mt of cereals and in 2001, including internally displaced as a result of the war with Eritrea, food aid receipts topped over 350,000 mt. The food security challenge within the region is therefore, how best to balance the approach to increase food availability through either increased agricultural productivity with a greater emphasis focused on

majority of small-scale indigent farmers or through imports while increasing access to food by vulnerable groups. As part of this challenge, the EGS project is intended to assist through the provision of temporary seasonal employment for those falling outside the system while building valuable economic assets at a community level. The aim is therefore to increase the effectiveness of food aid related labour intensive public works in co-ordination with other food security related interventions.

In summary, and similar to ANRS, agricultural productivity and off farm incomes remain too low for the average household to maintain adequate either calorie or protein nutrition. The targeting of relief assistance to vulnerable communities through EGS can provide both food and cash transfer opportunities while at the same time developing economic infrastructure.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a comparative study of Ethiopia in the African and east African context as well as justifying and characterising the selection of the north-east highlands of Ethiopia, and Amhara and Tigray for more detailed research. The history of food insecurity in Ethiopia and the present policy response of the GoE has also been summarised. This shows the extent to which the policy focuses upon rural development as the engine of growth on Ethiopia whilst acknowledging the need for social protection through a safety net. The argument has been made that Ethiopia suffers from a universal set of poverty problems, that affect much of Africa, and indeed, many areas of India such as Maharashtra. However, the specific nature of the poverty context of Ethiopia, and the two regions highlighted above, show the desperate need for applied research into policy and institutional constraints to poverty reduction strategies, among which the EGS programme remains a central pillar.

The direct welfare effects for poor households resulting from public works programmes include may well include income enhancement through wage labour; risk insurance where programmes are designed as employment guarantees; and, other employment and income effects in terms of created assets. The potential impact of these three effects of labour intensive public works programmes address both transitory and structural food security problems. However, the relative importance of each of the three profiles is to be determined by the clear identification of a households' food security risk profile. Moreover, it can be seen that poverty in Ethiopia remains chronic and structural in nature necessitating applied research into the effectiveness and efficiency of present initiatives. The extent to which the existing EGS strategy meets the challenge that it has been designed to overcome, will become clear using EGS project evaluation data in the research areas outlines above.

This work may add little directly to the lives of the north-east highlanders but, the output of the research will undoubtedly contribute towards the strengthening of analysis oriented towards the overcoming of continued loss of entitlements and ever increasing vulnerability that they face.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Literature on Food Security and Social Protection

This review provides the theoretical framework for the research on food security and social protection through EGS. It presents a 'conceptual geography' of important works of literature related to the international experience and the specific experience of Ethiopia. The subject of hunger can be tackled from economic, social, environmental, agricultural and political perspectives and therefore a combination of different factors are determinants of the extent of poverty and hunger in a given context. Poverty has been described as:

"Poverty has both physical and psychological dimensions. Poor themselves strongly emphasise violence, crime, discrimination, insecurity and political repression, biased or brutal policing, and victimisation by rude, neglectful and corrupt public agencies" (Narayam et al, 2000)

It is usual to refer to food security as a food supply, food access and nutrition issue. However, I have taken the opportunity to integrate nutrition as an access issue so as to include social protection as an important subject area for EGS in particular. Nutrition is not an intervention in itself but an outcome affected by entitlement and other livelihood issues. Social protection policies and programmes can address nutritional welfare either directly through food subsidies or indirectly through income support. It needs to be acknowledged from the outset that much of the international literature on hunger and social protection through safety nets stems from the seminal work of Amartya Sen, the Indian economist who, in his powerful analysis of famines explored the political economy of hunger and its affliction. Having stated the centrality of Sen's contribution, this does not preclude that other theoreticians and practitioners have not significantly enriched the field of study and the development of different models. Much of Sen's work, however sometimes theoretical, has been focused on action rather than measurement. Sen and Drèze have written that

"Hunger is not a new affliction. Recurrent famines as well as endemic under-nourishment have been persistent features of history. Life has been short and hard in much of the world, most of the time. Deprivation of food and other necessities of living has consistently been among the causal antecedents of the brutishness and brevity of human life" Drèze and Sen (1989).

Social protection, of which the EGS programme in Ethiopia is but one example, albeit an important one, is as a collection of measures to improve or protect human capital, ranging from labour market interventions, publicly mandated unemployment or old-age insurance to targeted income support. Social Protection interventions assist individuals, households, and communities to better manage the income risks that leave people vulnerable.

Given the extent of global poverty and hunger, there is an urgent need for social protection programmes that provide income assistance at the level of the minimum acceptable international level of US\$ per day. In this regard, social protection has

emerged in the new millennium as an important tool for economic reform. According to the World Bank social protection seeks to:

“Reduce the vulnerability of low-income households with regard to basic consumption and services; allow households to shift income efficiently over the life-cycle, thus financing consumption when needed; enhance equity particularly with regard to exposure to, and the effects of adverse shocks; and, social Protection interventions contribute to the solidarity, social cohesion, and social stability of a country. Well-designed and implemented, these interventions support importantly sustainable economic development in a participatory manner”. (World Bank, 2002)

3.1.1 Food Security

Debates surrounding food security, poverty and famine have been the focus of academic curiosity for many years³³. Although debates have become sub-summed under the general context of poverty and hunger eradication, entitlements and vulnerability, natural hazards research, disasters and more recently livelihoods, many classic and seminal works now exist facilitating easy review of important themes. Authorial backgrounds deviate around economics and the political economy and plotting these theoretical models reveals a number of broad camps or opinion regarding poverty and hunger in particular. Different lines of research focus upon market behaviour and the human impact of such markets (Sen, 1983; Ravallion, 1985); the political economy and structures of power-over through space and time (Firth, 1959, Rangashami, 1986) and the theories of famine in Ethiopia and Sudan (Hellden, 1984, De Waal, 1989) related to coping strategies.

The role of the researcher has been to identify hunger processes, models and trends as well as to focus on the practical aspects of disaster prevention³⁴. Prevention has optimistically become the work of governments, international organisations and NGO's working along side international donors. The language however has tended to be descriptive and reactive rather than transformatory and preventative. Prevention however requires planning for social protection and welfare - human rights. Accordingly, food security and famine have been described³⁵ countless different ways although all definitions inevitably converge around the issues of food availability (supply) and accessibility (entitlements). This research is no different in the overall stance taken with the exception that availability and access are not viewed here as

³³ Food insecurity was first noted in the old testament (Biblical famines) although the first usage of the word famine was cited in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1362 from the Latin *famina* which was derived from *fames* meaning hunger (de Waal, 1989: pg. 13)

³⁴ The concept of disaster prevention has always had a rather utopian feel about it leading UNDR0 to declare “*The term should not be used as it implies misleading resource allocation. It is false to suggest that infinite risk can be met with infinite resources.*” (UNDR0 1991: 157). Accordingly the term mitigation (“damping the worst effect of violent and sudden natural hazards”) was preferred. Other works on prevention and mitigation include White, G., 1974, Pitak and Atkisson, 1982, Drabek, 1986 and Palm, 1990)

³⁵ Indeed, the definitional exercise “*is more interesting in providing a pithy description of what happens in situations clearly diagnosed as one of famine than in helping us to do the diagnosis – the traditional role of definitions*” (Sen, 1981. P. 40, footnote). For a fuller discussion on this issue see de Waal, (1989).

different processes but rather processes linked in the same way as both vulnerability and entitlements might be considered two sides of the same coin. Theorists do not, by and large, disagree with these two principle elements however viewpoints change over the importance of what has been termed Food Availability Decline (FAD) vis-à-vis Food entitlement Decline (FED). The FAD approach clearly sees the centrality of availability decline whereas the FED approaches sees famine as the result of entitlement decline. However, it is clear that:

“the conflicting explanations involved in FAD and FED need to be resolved so that it can be shown how the root causes are channelled through well defined and precise mechanisms towards causing a famine’ (Blaikie, et al, 1994: Pg. 78).

Paradoxically the increase in available literature on hunger has been countered by an increased prevalence of the incidence of poverty and hunger itself. According to a United States Office of Foreign Assistance report of 1990 it is stated that ‘of all the deaths due to disaster between 1900 and 1990 over 48.6 percent were caused by civil strife, 39.1 percent as a result of famine with the remaining 12.3 percent due to earthquakes, volcanoes, cyclones, epidemics, floods and others’ (OFDA, 1990). What is significant here is that the figures for civil strife include the deaths of both World War I and II and, if these were discounted, famine would be the most prevalent disaster over the last 40 years or so. The increase in reported disasters can be either one of more of the following: increased population (see Malthus, 1780); better reporting; or, that more communities are being exposed to hazards because of increased vulnerability (see Wijkman and Timberlake 1984; Drabek 1986, Berz 1990).

The Malthusian nightmare of population outstripping food supply has not materialised as predicted by some observers (see Malthus and Ehrich, P.). Instead, the more complex problem of many people having insufficient food despite the increases in global production (FAD Vis a Vis FED) has become apparent. The problem of food security is clearly not purely a problem of production but one of access/entitlements although in itself, increased food production is still an important element of the food security equation.

Literature relating to supply is diverse and tends to be dominated by the introduction of agricultural technologies and extension as well as macro-economic policy reforms and population policies. This school of thought:

“attributes famine to an aggregate decline in food supply and is clearly linked to explanations of famine in terms of natural events, particularly drought’ (ibid: Pg. 82) although it needs to be stressed that in recent literature it is difficult to find ‘pure supply side explanations of famine’ (ibid: pg. 83)

As this approach is both environmentally deterministic and Malthusian – both of which are largely discredited as sole causes of famine. Literature regarding availability has tended to focus on two major trends in current world food markets. The first is the

“Levelling off of per capita food production since 1973 following a quarter century of steady gain” and the second is the “increasing differences in food production among continents and major countries. In some regions, per capita production is surging ahead; in others it is falling steadily” (Brown, 1989).

It has long been recognised, however, that international thinking has changed dynamically since the 1974 Food Conference where it is acknowledged that “*for some time now, experts discussed food security concerns largely in terms of increasing domestic production and creating international reserve stocks*” (Falcon, et al (1987: pg. 20). Subsequently it has been seen that the supply-oriented concept of food security was outdated and that food security should be rather seen as a function of all factors affecting the maintenance and improvement of per capita food consumption. Accordingly, it has been observed that “a government confronting food problems must choose a path that strikes a balance between long and short term considerations and the needs and claims of different groups” (ibid: 22).³⁶ This inevitably involves prioritising a stop-gap (relief food) approach at the same time as addressing more structural problems. Additional areas of focus for increasing food supply include giving priority to agricultural development led industrialisation, market liberalisation, maintaining lower real food prices through increased production, increased extension inputs, expanded access to micro-finance, reformist land policies and land administration laws as well as lower cost marketing (World Bank, 1996). Other areas include increasing rapid growth of businesses that can absorb rural labour as well as focusing on the diversification of agricultural production and exports in support of food trade.

Given that food availability depends on supply through either/or domestic production or food imports (food aid and grain trade) the global food security reserve is also an important factor and in 1998 the global food reserve was equivalent to 14 per cent of the total food needs equal to ~ 1.5 months. According to Donaldson:

“Although the data on global food trends are poor, they do show that grain production has grown at a generally increasing rate (~ 3 per cent) since the early decades of the 19th Century and has consistently outstripped increases in global population. As a result the price of food grain has declined steadily in real terms. Economists see no reason why this trend should not continue through the end of this century” (Bale and Duncan, 1983; Barr, 1981)

The food supply problem changes form depending on the level of analysis. Global food security involves supply through production whereas food supply at a household level is clearly determined by own production plus entitlements and accordingly, this has increasingly been reflected in food policy. This has been recognised for many years leading Reutlinger, S., et al to state that:

³⁶ An excellent example of this dichotomy is the present situation in Ethiopia regarding the timing of fertilizer and relief food inputs. In December, 1998 the GoE plans to import a further 272,000 MT of fertilizer through the port of Djibouti blocking ports for relief food import for 5-6 months based on present capacity. The government clearly is prioritising fertilizer over and above relief food imports. These kind of daily decisions need to be taken. Focusing on supply or stop-gap food imports.

“ The following precepts should therefore be adhered to: a) the lack of food security is basically a lack of purchasing power of people and nations. The convergence on the objective of poverty alleviation and of food security is thus strong b) Food security does not necessarily derive from food self sufficiency nor from a rapid increase in production c) long-term food security is a matter of achieving economic growth with equitable distribution of benefits. Food security in the shorter run is a matter of redistributing purchasing power and resources. By choosing redistribution policies on the basis of cost effectiveness, governments can play constructive roles in improving the food security of their citizens and, d) transitory food insecurity – because of fluctuations in domestic harvest, international prices and foreign exchange earnings – can best be alleviated through measures that facilitate trade and provide income relief to afflicted populations” (Reutlinger, S. 1987)

However, the present working methodology of major organisations still fails to acknowledge the limitations of the supply approach to solving the food security problem. For example, in Ethiopia, the annual FAO/WFP crop assessment assesses the food budget deficit only (per capita food needs minus annual production figures = deficit) and this information becomes the basis for the annual relief appeal of the DPPC. Items such as livestock consumption or other off farm income sources are not included in the assessment. This approach follows that the food will always be targeted to the most vulnerable that inevitably, is not always the case (GMRP, 1997, 1998). Famine prevention is primarily concerned with food entitlement protection in circumstances where livelihoods are in danger of collapsing. Sen's work on the Indian Famine Codes prepared by the Indian Famine Commission (IFC) from 1880 onwards among others has also created widespread academic debate (Sen, 1981; Dréze 1988). However, lessons from the famine codes indicate the importance of employment generation schemes in transferring assets to vulnerable groups; the importance of clearly identifying pre-conditions for food insecurity; and, the value of being reflexive to different interpretations of causation.

Sen's FED model is in opposition to the market-failure explanation whereby it is seen that despite the existence of effective demand and purchasing power certain market situations may arise where supply does not equal demand. Entitlement and market failure are often combined in marginal rural economies and a less developed economy impacts upon both sets of failure. One of the major causes of market failure, it is argued, is poor transport infrastructure. Tigray is a classic example in this regard where in western Zone annual surplus production is exported south to other national regional states and to Eritrea in the north while in eastern Zone many Woredas remain food deficit. However, market integration can be achieved through reduction in transport costs through road building and maintenance, support to increased private storage, development of rural financial markets and development of the skills and organisation of traders. Regarding market-failure the work of Ravallion (1985) and Seaman and Holt (1980) provides useful examples of market-failure related to Ethiopia. This issue is particularly important in areas such as Tigray where the impact of food assistance dampens market prices and can restrict the production incentive. An additional aspect relates to areas under military occupation where although effective demand exists supply routes are blocked.

As stated above Sen's FED demand and supply framework of enquiry is broadly accepted by the international community. For Sen it is a failure of 'pull-factor' or effective demand, induced by entitlement failure, that can cause famine not a market 'response failure'. Central to Sen's analysis is his categorisation of 'entitlement relationships' whereby individuals gain access to food. However, it should be noted that these failures are only strictly observed in market economies under private ownership. Sen's work in recent years has been jointly undertaken with Dréze, J. In their powerful book, 'Hunger and Public Policy' the relationship between different broad entitlements are forwarded:

The emphasis given to entitlements relates to socially-derived resources whereby both access and command are important concepts. In order for the resource to become mobilised in favour of a given party the party must be first gain access and demonstrate sufficient command to benefit from the resource. Sen terms an individual's entitlements as a person's 'endowment' which can also be exchanged - 'exchange entitlement'. A person's individual 'commodity bundle' and there effective command and control over the bundle therefore becomes key to further analysis. The power of the FED framework is that it acknowledges both social and market relationships over time whereas the FAD approach highlights merely the supply factors related to food supply.

Research conducted by Watts (1983) in Nigeria focuses on the different levels of causation from household, community, national, regional and international levels. The aim is to clearly demonstrate the different pre-conditions existing for famine to occur at different levels. If 'entitlement mapping' is effectively carried out within such a framework of analysis then both the causes and effects can be clearly expressed.

Both the FAD of FED model's are useful as a point of entry however, it is now widely recognised that famines are caused by a unique set of circumstances relating to a wide range of social and non-social variables (Blaikie et al (1994). In recent years the FED/FAD debate has become stale as both supportive and non supportive evidence exists concerning each theory. However, the debate has been polarised and increasingly couched in the style of an academic contest. This pursuit of a single theory of the mechanism of famine has diverted attention from multiple-causality and the possibility of famines at different times in the same place being caused by a different mix of factors. To this extent all disasters and famines are unique with a particular set of circumstances. It is therefore best to assume that famines have particular pre-conditions that can be triggered by disparate variables at a given point in time. In the context of Ethiopia a wide range of causal nexus can contribute towards such an outcome including over population, environmental degradation, small land holdings, market mechanisms, political turmoil and geo-politics, poor market integration, insufficient external input availability, gender, variable rainfall, cultural practices etc. In short, we need to understand the complex relationship between all these variables and their impact at a given point in space and time. It is a specific combination and sequence of events that causes famine. In this regard the work of Walker (1989), Cannon (1991), Curtis et al (1988) provides useful case studies

internationally and Holt and Lawrence (1993), Jayne et al (1994), Kabeer (1992) and GoE (2001).

Access to food is less a food, but rather than in income problem. Individuals with a disposable income sufficient to support their nutritional requirements do not go hungry. Access, not supply of food, has been explored in almost every detail and has tended to take over as the major concern of international organisations addressing poverty and hunger eradication. However, it should be recognised that much of this work evolved out of the India famine experience. As Gandhi said, "the earth has sufficient for every man's need, but not for every man's greed" Gandhi, Mahatma (1930). The seminal work of Amartya Sen, in his ground breaking book of 1981 entitled 'Poverty and Famines' sets the international stage and conditioned the next twenty five years of enquiry into exploring the relationship between vulnerability and entitlements, through analysis of rural livelihoods and markets. Vulnerability has been defined by Blaikie et al as;

'the characteristic of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of natural hazards' (Blaikie et al 1994: 9). Other authors have contrasted the concept of 'vulnerability' with the concept of "capability as the ability to protect oneself or one's community and to re-establish one's livelihood" (Anderson and Woodrow, 1989).

What the researcher contests about the first definitions is its exclusive link to natural disasters where it cannot be denied the significance of anthropogenic causation in many vulnerability processes. Livelihoods of the poorest are frequently affected by economic equity and politics, not just natural disasters. Work on vulnerability in Ethiopia, related to hunger and social protection includes: Shimeles (1996) focused on the impact of economic reforms on the welfare of poorest households, Tsedeke (1996) on vulnerability to crop failure in southern Ethiopia, the importance of economic reforms addressing vulnerability, GoE (1996) and Deriba (1996) focused on the importance of food security and vulnerability monitoring.

Analysis of vulnerability has tended to focus on the household as a unit of enquiry. Subsequently, household livelihood models have been developed as a way of developing an understanding of the pathways, flows and processes of food and non food assets, production, exchange and consumption etc. Such livelihood analysis highlights the different seasonal and non seasonal coping strategies at a household level (see O'Keefe and Wisner 1975; Sen A. 1981; Watts 1983 and 1991; Swift 1989; Young 1992; Blaikie et al 1994). Such coping strategies have been analysed in many different disaster prone areas and detailed analysis is given in Blaikie et al 1994. However, recent changes away from viewing the house as a homogenous unit (particularly as a result of gender analysis) have begun to focus on in-equality within the household (Rivers 1982; Cutler 1985).

The disaggregation of gender consumption patterns demonstrates examples of extended entitlements at work and often leads into what Sen defines as 'co-operative conflicts'. It is seen that 'there tends to be a coexistence of conflicts and congruence

of interests' at the same time (Sen, 1985 and 1987). Co-operative conflicts in gender relations and in intra-family divisions are due to many cultural reasons such as perception problems. Important to this study is the assertion that women tend to be in a position where conflicts over resource favour men who are more frequently the recipients of cash income and social dominance such as eating first. Analysis of the gender differentiated impact on household food security of access to and command over resources therefore becomes very important. That there is social injustice within the household unit has been well documented however, it might be fair to say that beginning the process of attaining food security at a household level depends on eradicating in-equality as well as boosting and stabilising either production of or access to resources. In this regard work by Masefield (1996); Sen, A. and Grown, C. (1987), Agarwal, B. (1986), Shiva, V. (1989) among others should be noted.

The concept of vulnerability, entitlements and gender are inextricably linked – loss of entitlements create vulnerability. Important work on vulnerability and gender in Ethiopia includes Bruce and Dwyer (1988), Bryceson (1993) and Dejene (1994) on female headed farm households. The work of Masefield on the role of women in agriculture, often dismissed by men as significant, also needs to be acknowledged (Masefield, 1996, 1998, 2000).

The availability of food in a market place does not enable equitable access by all to it. This depends on the individual 'commodity bundle' that an individual can take legal command over. Accordingly, entitlements can be defined in terms of '*ownership rights*' (Dreze J., et al 1989: 9) over certain commodity bundles also known as an individual's entitlements. According to Sen the following entitlement relationships are accepted in a private ownership market economy typically include the following:

- a) *Trade based entitlements*: One is entitled to own what one obtains by trading something one owns with a willing party or with a willing set of parties);
- b) *Production based entitlements*: One is entitled to own what one has produced by using one's own resources, or resources hired from willing parties meeting the agreed conditions of trade;
- c) *Own labour entitlements*: One is entitled to one's own labour power, and thus to the trade-based and production based entitlements related to one's labour power; and,
- d) *Inheritance and transfer entitlements*: One is entitled to own what is willingly given to one by another who legitimately owns it, possibly to take effect after the latter's death (if so specified by the owner. (Sen, 1982)

A person's entitlements (ownership rights) depends both on what is initially owned and upon what can be exchanged. A farmer's own production can be both consumed directly or exchanged/monetised for other commodities which would lead to a change in commodity bundle. The initial ownership is termed a person's endowment. (see Sen, A. 1989). When an individual's commodity bundle is insufficient for the needs of the person this is termed entitlement failure.

Sen's popularity is due to his detailed study of the legendary Bengal famine of 1943 where he asserted that the famine was not created because of a structural food deficit but due to entitlement failure (Sen, A. 1981). His thesis of social causation (determinism) vis a vis environmental determination received support from Wisner, B (1988), Wijkman, A. and Timberlake, L. (1984), Glantz, M. (1987) among others. Since Sen's social model of causation was forwarded the view that drought in particular was a key determinant of famine has received less support and it is now considered to be a 'trigger factor' only. The important link here is that environmental and social processes are related but are not always key determinants in creating disaster conditions. Examples of this relationship have been documented in Sudan, Ethiopia and elsewhere where it has been shown that droughts do not always lead to famine and that famines can occur without drought (de Waal, A. 1989; Pankhurst, R. 1974). It follows that for wealthy communities a decrease in production followed by increase in market prices need not lead to famine if households own either sufficient stores and resources and have sufficient purchasing power to buy food.

Literature related to entitlements has tended to focus on entitlement failure and the role of micro-economics within intra-household relations (see Sen 1976, 1981, 1982 and Dreze 1989, Watts and Bohle 1993) as well as what has been termed '*extended entitlements*' which may be seen as non-legal entitlements whereby social arrangements favour certain groups to dominate consumption (see Dreze et al, 1989: 10). Moreover, because it has been recognised that economic growth alone is insufficient to overcome the problems of the inequality of access to food, government programmes tend to focus on both supply and demand related interventions at the same time³⁷.

Entitlement programmes (social protection programmes) tend to focus on poverty alleviation as a wider goal with alternative measures to increase economic growth in low potential areas largely through targeted access programmes that focus on both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. These supplementary employment schemes link with development priorities in rural areas and the targeted access programmes target the very poor and vulnerable groups and resemble a 'Safety Net Programme' in many countries such as Ethiopia. Entitlement interventions also target health and nutritional components. An important element of the literature relating to this classification is the extent to which 'coping strategies' are researched with the aim of enhancing their productivity and to ultimately provide greater household income diversification opportunities³⁸. Coping strategies such off farm labour,

³⁷ It should be noted that food security programmes clearly need to focus on both supply and entitlement elements as both output and availability of food are among the several influences that determine entitlements. Even though hunger is clearly caused by entitlement failure, changes in production play a causal role in the process of deprivation and hunger. Decreased supply raises prices and discriminates against the poorest of the poor.

³⁸ In the process of strengthening coping strategies there is a need to also limit those strategies which are beneficial in the short term but harmful in the long term. For example, the collection of wood fuel in Tigray and Amhara provides poor households with income opportunities but at the same time it increases environmental degradation which in the long term increases the pressure on land and reduces agricultural production.

charcoal making, fuel wood collection, collection of famine foods etc. also contribute to an individuals commodity bundle.

'Space-time mapping' provides an understanding of the different layers of pre and post disaster coping strategy and consequently much analysis of seasonality and seasonal calendars has been conducted (De Waal 1989; Chambers et al 1981; McCracken et al 1988; Middlebrook, 1996). Coping has been defined as *"the stuff of everyday life"* (Holt and Lawrence 1993) and as *"the manner in which people act within existing resources and range of expectations of a situation to achieve various ends"* (Blaikie, P 1994). It includes "defence mechanisms, active ways of solving problems and methods of handling stress (Murphy and Moriarty 1976). Analysis of coping has concentrated on both physical and social means. Physical resources include land, tools, seeds, livestock and draught oxen, cash and other fixed household assets to include stored food. Social means includes command over and mobilisation of fixed asset resources including markets, human rights, obligations, inheritance etc. It has been noted that special access qualifications are often required before a resource can be effectively mobilised and that during times of rapid change such 'ethno-science' can disappear from local practise (O'Keefe and Wisner 1975). However, despite the occasional disappearance, which may also have its own logic, coping in times of disaster is the human face of poverty negotiation. Strategies differ prior to, during and after stress and from generation to generation as different life options present themselves. Plotting changes in coping strategies on time series has yet to be substantially undertaken.

If coping 'is the stuff of every day life' then analysis of coping strategies must clearly focus at both an individual and community level. It is clear that on a seasonal basis certain groups of vulnerable people (by gender, age, sex, class, ethnic group, ability etc.) simply don't possess access to a basket of basic commodities and command over those commodities to survive without making a modification to their normal life. In rural communities in Ethiopia individual households are singled out for relief assistance as a result of administrative targeting procedures (Middlebrook, P. 1996). Therefore in single communities some households are food self sufficient while others are perennially food deficit. Structural and transitory food security issues are discussed more fully later. Such coping mechanisms, often based on Ethiopian experiences, have been studied by Maslow 1970; Sen 1981; de Waal 1989; Jodha, 1991; Raphael 1986; Dynes et al 1987; Hussein 1976; Douglas 1985 among others. The discussion varies considerably with focus on how different societies and households deal with food related stress. However, after the work of Blaikie et al (1994) it is clear that a number of broad coping strategies can be usefully categorised.

- a) Categories include: preventative strategies/action (impact-minimising strategies (mitigation); creation and maintenance of labour power; building up stores of food and saleable assets);
- b) Diversification of the production strategy (diversification of income sources; development of social support networks); and,
- c) Post-event coping strategies.

These have additionally been studied by Douglas (1985) who analysed risk acceptability and that past experience of a disaster often triggers similar adaptive strategies. Having large numbers of children has also been studied by Cain (1978) in Bangladesh where it was considered that having additional children is less risky than investing in other resources. However, in this regard having children might be as much to do with preventative coping as poor birth control. An additional strategy of interest is the strategy diversifying modes of production known here as risk aversion. Here farmers can be involved with mixed cropping, alley cropping or inter-cropping and the production of non staple food supplies. While this strategy probably minimises risks of absolute economic stress below which life may cease it may also reduce the possibility of achieving an excellent harvest of highly marketable monocrop. This has been studied by Allan (1965) and Wisner (1978).

Important supplementary work on food security and hunger includes: Alamgir and Arora (1991); De Waal (1987), Sen (1986), Donovan (1987), Watts (1983 and 1984), Masefield, G (1963), Alamgir (1977, 1980), Currey (1978, 1981 and 1984), Walker (1989), Cannon (1991), Curtis, D (1988), Kent (1987), Sen (1976, 1981, 1982,), (Dreze (1989), Watts and Bohle, Ricardo (1822), Marx (1957-8, 1887). International work on food security from a market perspective has been undertaken by Ravallion (1986 and 1989), Smith (1961), Stiglitz (1981), Davraux (2000), Sen et al (1995) among many others. On food supply and population pressure see Malthus (1890 and 1898), Ehrlich (1990) and Banister (1984).

Important work on hunger policies and complex emergencies in Ethiopia includes World Bank (1999, 2000), Cohen (1988), FAO (1990), World Bank (1986, 1989 and 1990), Maxwell (1991), Geier (1995), Duffield (1989, 1994), IOV (1994), Kent (1987) and EEA (2000) in the annual report. The NGO SCF (UK) (1999) has detailed the process of rural destitution and the World Bank (1999) on the options for a national food security programme and on food security strategy (EC, 1996 and 2000) and Robinson (1994). Additional work by Anderson (1989, 1994) has cited Ethiopia in many areas related to reform of the agricultural sector.

The work of Wolde-Mariam (1978, 1984 and 1991) are among the most important works on famine, diet, nutrition and gender in Ethiopia as they expose the extent to which vulnerability relates to policy – many call for social protection policies. Other works include Kebede and Tadessa (Ed.) (1996); Kloose and Zein, Z (Ed.) (1993); Penrose (Ed.) (1988); Moser, C (1990), Sen (1986), Agarwal (1986), Bosrup (1970, 1980, 1986), Das Gupta (1987), Deaton (1987), Masefield, A, (1996, 1997, 1998).

3.1.2 Social Protection and Safety Nets

Social protection can be through labour market interventions, pensions, social safety nets or through the implementation of targeted social funds. Safety nets are programs designed to provide targeted income support and access to basic social services to the

poorest population groups, and/or those needing assistance after economic downturns, natural disasters, or other events that pose major risks.

“Safety Nets are programs that protect a person or household against the adverse outcomes of chronic incapacity to work (chronic poverty); and a decline in this capacity from a marginal situation that provides minimal means of survival with few reserves (transient poverty)” World Bank, (2002)

The term Safety Nets encompasses various transfer programs designed to play both a redistributive and risk reduction role in poverty reduction. Safety Nets are a form of social transfer that usually involves cash or in-kind payments to marginal income groups either gratuitously or through public works programmes. The redistributive role is intended to reduce the impact of poverty and hunger and the risk reduction role is intended to protect individuals, households, and communities against uninsured income and consumption risks.

Although safety net programs need to be devised to address both redistributive and risk reduction roles, country specific conditions dictate whether safety nets play primarily a redistributive or primarily a risk reduction role. Risks can be household-specific (i.e. seasonal unemployment), community or regionally based (i.e. drought, famine) or nation-wide (drought, global financial risks etc.). The poor may be more vulnerable than the non poor to these risks. Therefore, it is important to design programs to address the particular need and characteristics of various categories of the poor. The role of safety nets is particularly critical during economic downturns or systemic shocks such as the periods of hunger in Ethiopia of 1956, 1972, 1984, 1994 and 2000.

Public safety nets are referred to as formal safety nets. There is a broad range of mechanisms for protecting individuals from acute deprivation or inadvertent declines in income. These can include, among others: food subsidies, feeding programmes, public works and other employment programs, credit-based self-employment programs, social funds and related interventions, and child allowances. Most of these have been utilised in Ethiopia over the past 20 years or more.

In addition to public safety nets, most societies have informal community-based arrangements (private safety nets) that help mitigate against deprivation and temporary income shortfalls. In most Sub-Saharan countries there is a system of labour transfers within communities, operated in places such as Amhara and Tigray. Informal transfers on private accounts are considerable in the Philippines. In China, not only are informal family-based support systems strong, but the structural features of the rural economy itself - access to land, either individually or collectively - guarantees economic security.

Poor people and other vulnerable groups often face frequent and immediate hardship during periods of economic upheaval or other emergencies. Indeed, even in prospering economies, some families will face hardship due to loss of job, illness, or chronic poverty. Safety nets should thus be a permanent feature of social policy. In

good times, they help families in difficult circumstances. In bad times, it is much easier and more effective to expand existing programs than to build them from scratch during an emergency.

Risks can vary and affect households (illness, disability or death in a family, unemployment of the wage earner), communities and regions (floods, famine, epidemics) and countries (drought, global financial risks, shifts in terms of trade, etc). The adverse impact of these risks can be highly damaging for the incomes and well-being of the poor, and for human development generally. The World Bank believes that governments and the international financial institutions therefore have a special role in helping to protect the poor during times of individual or widespread crisis.

“Social safety nets offer protection by providing income through cash transfer programs, subsidies on staple foods and other items, employment through labour-intensive public works programs, and cash through targeted human development programs. Also included are programs that give the poor access to essential public services, such as school vouchers or scholarships and fee waivers for health care services or for home heating in cold climates. Informal (private) safety net arrangements may also be important in providing households security, and must be considered in the design of publicly financed social safety nets. Cash transfers between households are important in many regions” (World Bank, 2002).

The overall policy and directive framework of the GoE are embodied in the following key documents directly related to the role of the state in social protection and welfare. the National Policy for Disaster Prevention and Management (1993) and National Disaster Directives (1993) which set the policy framework and the accompanying policy measures and directives for implementation. The DPPC established the Employment Generation Scheme Guidelines (1997) providing a detailed summary of guidelines for the implementation of the programme. This guideline was well developed and initially received although its contents are not adhered to by most regional administrations. Widening the GoE response away from a disaster preparedness towards a more strategic approach, the GoE developed the Ethiopia Food Security Strategy, (1996) with the assistance of the World Bank and the regions developed the further Food Security Programme Documents (1998). These policy statement and guidelines have been incorporated into the Ethiopian interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2001) and the Poverty Reduction Programme (2002). According to the World Bank

“Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) describe a country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs to promote growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs. PRSPs are prepared by governments through a participatory process involving civil society and development partners” (2002).

As already stated, a combination of supply failure increases market prices beyond the purchasing capacity of poor households leading to entitlement failure. This scenario is particularly although not exclusively an Ethiopian one as even in the developed countries of the transatlantic nations many individuals and households fall outside the normal socio-economic system and come to depend upon income support and hand

outs. The last 30 years has seen the mushrooming of relief based organisations such as Oxfam, Save the Children Fund (SCF), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Lutheran World Federation (LWF), United Nations High commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Disaster and Humanitarian Affairs Office (UNDHA) and the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) to name but a handful. Accordingly, a large literature has been developed in response to slow and quick onset disasters and the provisioning of relief and rehabilitative assistance to disaster victims, as a form of social protection. However, in recent years discussion about the 'relief / development continuum' has changed the way that both theoreticians and practitioners perceive disaster management and prevention. According to Smith and Maxwell

"The basic idea is simple and sensible. Emergencies are costly in terms of human life and resources. They are disruptive of development. They demand a long period of rehabilitation. And they have spawned bureaucratic structures, lines of communication and organisational cultures and duplicate development institutions and sometimes cut across them....If relief and development can be linked, so the theory goes, these deficiencies can be overcome. Better development can reduce the need for emergency relief and better relief can contribute towards development and better rehabilitation can ease transition between the two" (Smith and Maxwell 1994: Pg. 1)

An example of linking relief to development is the new policy of the European Commission Food Security and Food Aid Programme not to import relief food where possible but to provide cash to purchase the cereals from surplus producing areas. This has encouraged producers and strengthened the local economy in the food aid recipient state. Another example includes EGS programmes where relief food is channelled through labour intensive public works for food security rather than being handed out gratuitously. This has enabled many thousands of Kms of rural access roads and soil and water conservation structures to be constructed to help mitigate against the effects of famine. Another element of disaster prevention and management has been the focus on Famine Early Warning Systems (FEWS) and the establishment of large in-country food stocks – Food Security Reserves (FSRs) within which pre-positioned relief food inputs reduce the time taken for food aid imports – normally up to six months for East Africa. Work on linking relief to development in Ethiopia has been conducted by Davies (1994), DPPC NEWS and Herbinger (1994) among others.

Social protection in Ethiopia, has been funded largely through food aid related public works programmes, although differentially described in international literature labour intensive public works. These might best be seen as

"work programmes that provide employment and, typically, generate public goods such as physical infrastructure, through labour intensive means and assist in providing permanent access to food in sufficient quantity and quality for an active and healthy life" (Middlebrook (1998).

Public works policies and programmes aimed at increased food security should address availability and entitlement issues at both individual, community and national levels if they are to provide meaningful employment opportunities to unemployed and

under-employed groups. The international experience has been modestly positive as claimed by Von Braun, A., et al:

"three central problems facing Africa today - food insecurity, growing unemployment and poor infrastructure, need to be, and can be, addressed simultaneously by appropriate action through LIPW programmes" (Von Braun et al, 1991).

Despite this assertion, experience has been varied both in terms of programming approaches and implementation results. Employment creation (long term and short term) relies upon many factors among which macro-economic reforms are most likely to create major long term employment opportunities coupled with other employment based initiatives such as micro-finance schemes etc. However, wage and employment markets are also dependent on a range of additional factors such as seasonality within the agricultural cycle. This is a particularly important factor in Ethiopia.

IF LIPW/EGS are properly designed they should address a number of risks systematically through the transfer of resources and stabilisation of vulnerability and entitlements as well as "decreasing the risk of consumption shortfalls among the poor" (Ravallion, 1990). However, it would be better that LIPW/EGS complement a basket of development instruments geared towards poverty alleviation rather than addressing short term fluctuations in food supply as practised in many parts of Ethiopia.

Important work in the area of disaster management and safety nets as a form of social protection in Ethiopia includes: Alder and Elder (1985), Linner (1986). The UN prepared international guidelines for disaster prevention, preparedness and mitigation in what has been called the Yokohama Message, Strategy and Plan of Action (UN, 1994). Others with wide experience in disasters include Kent (1987) in his book on disaster causation and practise. The role of early warning for disaster management has been covered by Davies (1996), Buchanan-Smith and Davies (1997) and Borton and Shoham (1991). Important work on disaster prevention includes Dreze (1989), Borton (1984, 1988, 1989), Eicher (1985), Mackrey (1957) and work on hazards includes: Blaikie et al (1994), O'Keefe and Wisner (1977), Timberlake (1984), Glantz (1987).

The importance of developing sustainable rural livelihoods concepts has been largely developed by the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) and Overseas Development Institute in the UK with financial backing from DFID. Parallel research has been undertaken by UNDP and FAO again focused around the need to develop sustainable livelihoods based on clear analysis of livelihood constraints. Pioneering work in this area has been conducted by Carney (1998, 1999) in defining different approaches to understanding livelihoods although very much based on the work of Chambers and Conway (1992). Other authors such as Thin et al (2001), Hann et al (2000), Turton (2000), Francis (2000) and Scoones (1998) have looked at the impact of development policy on rural livelihoods. Bebbington (1999) looked at livelihoods and poverty and Hopley and Shields D (2000) looked at the reality of trying to transform structures and processes in forestry. Specific work around livelihoods in Ethiopia has been

spearheaded by Rahmato (1988, 1991, 1992, 1994). On coping strategies Frankfurter (1992), Downing (1986, 1988a, 1988b), Webb (1991), Davies (1996), Corbett (1988) provide many insights including the stages of capital build up and loss.

3.1.3 Different Country Experiences

The following short review summarises the key literature covered in the context of specific countries, with particular reference to the Maharashtra EGS experience, and draws upon the main working conclusions. The summaries largely stem from the work of Von Braun et al (1991), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Drèze and Sen, Clay and Hossain, M., but also expand the discussion by including additional texts of interest.

Evaluation of LIPW for food security initiatives in Africa: Nigeria, Niger, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Cameroon, Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and Asia: Bangladesh, India and China conducted by Von Braun et al forwarded a checklist for screening the scope for LIPW for food security in Africa. The report states that:

"while there are important macro-economic and institutional issues that determine the scope of end constraints for public works programmes, many policy questions for screening the scope of public works programmes for food security improvements remain country - and location - specific (Von Braun et al, 1991: 15-16).

The report highlights a number of important steps in the screening process as follows:

"1. country and location specific public works screening; 2. defining the problem overlap between food security problems and the deficiency in public goods; 3. consider public works programmes versus alternative instruments and 4. institutional and implementation issues must be considered" (ibid.)

This framework will be used to present a detailed philosophical approach to EGS presented in chapter four. The following summary of the Maharashtra experience is strengthened with the researchers field notes after visits in 1998 and 1999. In 1999 I led a study visit of 16 Ethiopian government officials to Maharashtra to compare and contrast the programme with the Ethiopian programme.

Arguably the most successful labour intensive public works programme is the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) which has become an international model for many countries including Ethiopia. In 1997 the Ethiopian Federal DPPC and representatives from Amhara and Tigray regions visited India to learn from the experience gained since 1972. The final study visit report indicated that:

"India has a well established strategy and experience in disaster preparedness and management based upon a determination to alleviate the chronic problems of unemployment, under-employment and poverty. This strategy gives considerable emphasis to creating employment programmes that

generate income to vulnerable sections of the society and augment the development efforts of the affected areas...This rich and long experience provides lessons to developing countries like Ethiopia" DPPC (1997)

The Maharashtra programme evolved through a desire to alleviate poverty by providing gainful employment to the poorer sections of the community in rural areas in the State in the year 1972. The State Government has given "*statutory support to the guarantee of employment through the enactment of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Act, 1977, which has been brought into force from 26th January 1979*" (GoM, 1981). The programme involved the design of a range of employment generation programmes like the 'Rural Works Programme', 'Crash Scheme for Rural Employment Programme', pilot 'Intensive Rural Employment Programme' and programmes designed for rendering assistance to small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and rural artisans. The principal aim of the employment guarantee scheme in Maharashtra is to

"provide gainful and productive employment to rural communities who are in need of work and are prepared to do manual labour but cannot find it independently. The employment has to be both gainful to the individual and productive to the economy of the state. The guarantee to provide work has been restricted to unskilled manual work. The second fundamental objective of the scheme is that on completion of the works undertaken, durable community assets should be generated and that the wages paid to the workers should be linked with the quantity of work done" (Middlebrook 1999, Field Notes).

The Maharashtra EGS is a 'demand driven self targeted' programme and physical planning targets are not fixed but depend on labour demand for the programme. As of the author's visit earlier this year, a total of 341661 different work activities have been started under the EGS since its commencement in 1972 up until March, 1997 and out of these 323,262 (94 per cent) of the works are completed. The labour days employed on the programme since inception is 1,901,000,000 equivalent to 5,703,000 mt of food equivalent. This is equal to 211,222 mt³⁹ per annum of food equivalent provided in cash (GoM, 1995). Analysis by Ezekiel and Stuyt (1989) shows that "programme provided employment volume is roughly a mirror image of agricultural employment: when agricultural employment is up, EGS employment is down and vice versa" (Ezekiel et al 1989). While the Indian and Ethiopian EGS necessarily revolve around different contexts of implementation the relationship between agricultural employment and EGS is a similar facet of both.

A review of public rural works for relief and development in Bangladesh concluded that "*public works have the potential to serve both relief and development objectives*" and in the 1980s the FFW programme had the capacity to generate about 100 million person days of employment (about 17 days per land-less worker) However, the Bangladeshi experience also demonstrated the complexity of providing employment opportunities and major problems such as the high degree of:

³⁹ Based on a calculation of US \$ 300 per Mt which is the standard EC planning guideline used in 1999.

"leakage of resources during the implementation of the programme", "lack of technical expertise", dampened community initiative to undertake small scale projects through mobilisation of voluntary labour". However, a positive side effect of the rural works programme is that it "increased interactions between various layers of the local self-government units" and it has "prompted popular participation in rural development activities" (Hossain and Akash 1993).

While not on such a large scale, Senegal has also been involved in labour intensive public works to ameliorate the problem of unemployment. In preceding years the GDP of Senegal has only grown by 2.4 per cent per annum which according to the World Bank (1989) is the lowest rate in an African country not affected by military struggle of conflict. Whilst this low rate is largely caused by fluctuations in world market prices for groundnuts urban consumer subsidies and wage policies have also played a role. In 1986, mean daily calorie consumption was found to be only 1,900 Kcals per capita in the villages of the Sahelian Zone and 1,950 in the Sudanian Zone (Reardon 1990). In order to tackle slow growth Senegal structural adjustment programmes were implemented to promote privatisation, retrenchment of public sector employees and removal of state subsidies. According to Von Braun et al (1991: 69) the "*cornerstone of the policy*" involved diversifying the production base away from groundnut production with a goal of reaching food security by the year 2000⁴⁰. This policy called for an increase in cereal production and reduction of imports.

The result of the structural adjustment policy has been increasing unemployment and under-employment and figures of "*100,000 new job seekers entering the labour market each year*" (EIU 1990). The increasing destruction of feeder roads has given rise to a large potential for labour intensive public works for food security in recent years. The Directorate for Employment Creation (Presidents Office), Ministry of Water Resources and Ministry of Agriculture are key organisations involved in labour intensive works. The major employment based scheme in Senegal was initiated with funding from the World Bank and WFP (US\$ 50 million) with the aim of generating 7,000 person years of employment over the three year project period and creating up to 70,000 jobs. The experience of some projects showed that payment in food soon became less attractive and "*eventually US\$ 1.5 per day was given which increased the labour demand for the programme and soon labour was rationed on some projects to 3 months at a time*" (Von Braun et al 1991). Excess labour was stated a major problem.

The Chinese experience in LIPW for food security shows that government targeted the programmes to areas of great rural poverty and vulnerability. Between 1985-97, 2.7 billion yuan worth of surplus grain, cotton and cloth were contributed for public works programmes. The in kind goods were monetised at a province level to provide paid employment to poor farmers. During this period:

⁴⁰ However, it remains perfectly unclear in the report whether this implies national or household security.

"completed public works... include 120,000 Km of roads of which 46,000 Km were new state class motor roads, 7,200 bridges, 172,600 hectares of irrigated land, 240,000 hectares of land protected from water logging, 1.13 million hectares of land protected from soil erosion, 1.56 million kilowatts of increased capacity of generators at small hydro power stations and an increase in drinking water supplies for 14.5 million people and 9.7 million domestic animals" (Ling and Jiang Zhong-yi, 1990). However, in reviewing this work Von Braun et al state that "no comprehensive effects of household-level food security effects of the large public works programme" have so far been conducted (Von Braun et al 1991, 24)

The Nigerian, Sudan, Tanzanian, Ethiopian and Zimbabwe experience all demonstrated the need for the expansion of employment opportunities and acknowledged the diverse range of institutional capacities and approaches for implementing a range of employment based programmes. In addition, and importantly, the research concluded, *"successful examples are emerging"* and that fortunately:

"the simplistic notion on the part of many governments that food insecurity is a problem of food self-sufficiency is on its way out" and "many African countries strengthened their capacity to assess household food security problems" In addition governments began to establish "food security units" and "food security strategies" at high governmental levels. (ibid. 43).

Major shifts are reported to include "a concentration of activities sectorally and geographically", "a shift in public works programme's inputs away from only food to also include non-food inputs and cash", and "an increasing emphasis on private participation in public works programmes" (ibid: 46).

Experience in EGS related interventions in Ethiopia goes back many years to the 1970s and 1980s although at that time, experiments with LIPW were not referred to as EGS but rather FFW. The work of both governmental and international organisations such as WFP, ILO, UNDP, the European Commission, SOS Sahel, Lutheran World Federation (LWF), CARE International would need to be recalled.

As part of the new policy initiatives of the FDRE, EGS were heralded in 1993 as the *"cornerstone"* of the NPDPM (GoE, 1993). In 1997 the DPPC finalised the EGS Guidelines and sent hundreds of copies out to the regions. The guidelines cover the entire planning and implementation approach for EGS and were heavily influenced by the results of a study to visit the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme. The guidelines, appeared to offer an opportunity for Ethiopia to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of food aid interventions by aspiring to two distinct but objectives: the first is a relief objective focused on nutritional / short term productive assets protection and the second relates to development although the extent to which this objective relates to the mandate of line departments at the sub-regional level may be unclear. EGS planning is made through an annual *'contingency plan'* which in itself does not call for detailed plans to be drawn up and the *"general quality of EGS implementation remains (differentially) poor in most regions"* (Middlebrook, 1999).

"However, the potential for the Ethiopian EGS is unparalleled in international experience as EGS resources are derived from the annual relief appeal. Even including recent production figures the average 10 year volume of food aid assistance to Ethiopia is in the range of ~500,000 mt per annum. This resource is capable of providing the labour to build 83,333 Km of rural access roads a year, or 1,111,111Kms of hillside terracing per year or labour for 1,388 average sized earth dams based on WFPs standard work norms" (Middlebrook, 2000)

And yet, *"because of poor planning and implementation, these potentials are not realised and vulnerability continues to persist in many areas"* (Masefield, 1996). While one cannot argue that EGS is the only solution to problem or rural vulnerability and dis-entitlement, of course additional government inputs are needed in other sectoral areas, *"EGS can form a complimentary approach to addressing rural needs in food insecure areas as has been seen in countries such as India where EGS and Employment Assurance Schemes (EAS) are in operation"* (ibid).

It is argued that in 1998 and again in 1999 many regions and international NGOs have failed to adequately implement the national policy and EGS guidelines as Gratuitous Relief (GR) is increasingly becoming a position of 'first' rather than 'last' resort. This is surprising given the cost of food aid assistance (US\$ 200-400 per annum) in areas like East Haraghe, North and South Wollo and Borena among others, where authorities are once again opting for free hand outs again despite the fact that the national policy and EGS guidelines are clear in their commitment to increasing the effectiveness of EGS related works. In some areas beneficiaries have received food in exchange for work at some hypothetical later date. This practice can no longer be allowed to continue as the guiding principles of self respect and independence are once again being compromised. The implementation reports from EC funded NGOs in the field of EGS projects stands as a testament of the many layers of problems which the Ethiopian EGS remains challenged.

In 1998 an EC funded Italian NGO called CISP reported that because:

"pastoralists do not live in large communities...it is often difficult to gather people for EGS activities" and "In some areas the beneficiaries were involved in EGS...In some areas because of the seriousness of the food shortage at the time of the distribution beneficiaries received the ration with the understanding that they will perform some of the activities...at later stage". (CISP project proposal document for 5,533 mt submitted to the EC, 1997).

Similarly an SCF (UK) field report stated that;

"the project will attempt to distribute the food commodities through EGS.... The implementation modalities of the National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Preparedness will be through FFW, EBSN and EGS...In most areas where emergency food assistance is needed the EGS will be the modality used....Therefore the food resource will be used to execute EGS programmes in some of the Woredas where it is feasible....The EGS activities to be implemented can not be exactly quantified at this stage...". In addition, the same field manager stated that the "guidelines concerning EGS are quite

theoretical, the reality looks different in many ways. In the communities there is a mixture of EGS, FFW, social mobilisation etc. to the point that one cannot relate a specific amount of food to a specific amount of output of activities. Sometimes the work is done first and the payment comes later, sometimes the other way around...SCF is not involved in the design and planning of activities because that might raise expectations that sometimes cannot be fulfilled if allocations are not given etc.... SCF has no capacity to monitor the implementation of EGS activities... The Woreda sector offices don't even have the capacity to carry out their regular work and therefore have no time to deal with relief EGS activities". Further communication shows that "furthermore, the Government's capacity in Ethiopia is too weak to implement any kind of EGS. The NGOs goal is not to invest in public infrastructure and force people to work for their food.... Also, the NGO has no means, no cash to do this monitoring". (SCF-UK, Relief Field Manager, 1998)

Implicit in the above discussion on EWS and EGS is the modality of targeting relief resources. However, it appears that no clear targeting modality has been internationally accepted for EGS and some major differences in approach exist⁴¹. While the principle underlying targeting is relatively simple, the practicality of targeting-based protection of entitlements is far more complicated. It would be possible to categorise targeting into five different classifications as follows:

- a) '*Universal Targeting*': Here the right to food is guaranteed to all at the same rate (for analysis of the Egyptian experience to food subsidies see Alderman and Braun, 1984)
- b) '*Market Based Targeting*': this involves no direct selection of beneficiaries and the intervention is made to directly manipulate price, supply of goods and demand of selected goods;
- c) '*Self Targeting*': whereby beneficiaries make their own decision on whether to participate;
- d) '*Administrative Targeting*': whereby beneficiary selection is done by outsiders using objective, standardised, observable indicators;
- e) '*Community Targeting*': where beneficiaries are selected by insiders/potential gainers such as community members. This approach can use more subjective and complex selection criteria.

These different approaches demonstrate different advantages (benefit elements) and disadvantages (cost elements) as well as operating at different levels (individual, community etc.). Despite the desirability of adopting a self targeting approach, much would need to be done in Ethiopia prior to recognition of such an approach by the administration. Self targeting may be seen as a facet of democracy, putting the right to welfare in the hands of those who need it, not those in the administration where the political economy can impact upon the selection of workers. For a fuller discussion of these different classifications see Drèze and Sen 1989: 104, and SCF (UK) 1997: 14.

⁴¹ A good targeting system should protect (either directly or indirectly) the entitlements of all those threatened by starvation and it should be noted that different targeting procedures need be developed for different situations and contexts. It should also be acknowledged that no targeting system is perfect.

A 1991 report by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) stated:

“Income generation through labour-intensive public works for food security can reduce risks for food insecure households, both directly through wage earnings in the short run and indirectly through income flows in the long run. Programme design influences the food security effects of public works. Income effects of public works also can also generate favourable private savings and investment effects that improve household food security. Employment Generation Schemes reach the food insecure through mechanisms and design features such as wage-rate policy, regional targeting and the specific selection of households and household members. Self targeting is normally a unique feature of properly designed public works” (IFPRI, 1991)

Of significant interest to this study is the extent to which “*the household food security effects of labour intensive public works are a function of the programme design*” (ibid: xii). Programme design involves a number of elements including design of targeting modalities. The discussion on targeting needs to be related to the discussion in 3.3.1 below summarising the international experience.

Despite the positive nature of the national policy and the good operational guidelines provided by DPPC it appears that the true potential of the EGS programme is being retarded and a number of policy and institutional constraints exists. These are clearly documented in the recent work of the European Commission (co-ordinated by the researcher in his professional capacity as EC EGS Advisor) and regional governments of Amhara and Tigray. The reports state the following major policy issues remain unresolved:

“Inadequate food security related policies and unclear legal environment; poor policy orientation at all administrative levels on NPDPM and EGS; relationship between regional Food Security Programme and EGS interventions not clearly defined; delay in publication and dissemination of national EGS Guidelines; regional Contingency Planning capacity needs to be strengthened; the relief plan only indicate no. of beneficiaries, food requirements and eventually some EGS activities without indicating the required financial and material support for EGS implementation; and, EGS planning and implementation process for Labour Intensive Public Works largely needs to be further defined”.

In addition:

“Practical implementation constraints include: shelf project preparation and updating not conducted; contingency plans are not prepared in sufficient detail; Employment Needs Assessment (ENA) techniques not clearly defined; targeting system needs to be strengthened; programme design and implementation inadequate; insufficient transport facilities and budget; lack of skilled staff as Woreda level involved in planning and implementation; limited knowledge and practical experience on labour intensive work techniques, project identification and planning; lack of capital inputs for project implementation and capacity building (hand tools, cement, gabion etc.); work norms not sufficiently adhered to; less than optimal relief food delivery; untimely mobilisation of wage and non wage inputs; limited road access during rainy season; input, process and Impact Monitoring Indicators

not clearly defined and data collection irregular; poor Reporting on EGS implementation; how to trigger EGS works closure and, ex-post evaluation seldom conducted." (ANRS/TNRS, 1998)

Important work on EGS and public works in Ethiopia includes Clay (1986), Dandekar (1983 and 1980), Deshpande (1982), D'Silva (1983), Braun and Webb (1991), Ravallion (1990), Walker (1987), Middlebrook (1999, 2000). Braun and Webb have developed the term labour intensive public works for food security, therefore making an important link for this research. The NGO experience in implementing EGS has been well documented by CARE (1992, 1996), SCF (1999, 2000), IFPRI (1992), WFP (1993, 1994, 2000), EC (1998, 1999, 2000) and DPPC (1995a, b, 1997 a, b, c). The work of Jendou in Ethiopia on EBSNs also needs to be acknowledged. This work has focused on the practical evaluation of EBSN planning and implementation in southern region.

Important work on food aid in Ethiopia includes: Lirenso (1988), Masfield (1996) who looks at food aid versus cash transfer support, ODI (2000) and the importance of food aid reforms, SCF (UK) (2000) on the impact of food aid on rural communities in Ethiopia and Maxwell S (1989, 1992, 1995) who looked at the options to utilise food aid resources for public works in the form of an employment based safety net.

Important work on disaster prevention includes Drèze (1989), Borton (1984, 1988, 1989), Eicher (1985), Mackrey (1957) Work on hazards includes Blaikie et al (1994), O'Keefe and Wisner (1977), Timberlake (1984), Glantz (1987).

3.2 Synopsis of Major Issues for Research

Given that social protection through employment generation and hunger eradication remain long term goals for Ethiopia, research into EGS, as a form of social protection, will need to be based both on the experiences of other countries and that of Ethiopia itself. Here, a key research area will involve *"finding a balance between protecting short term household assets at the same time as progressing towards longer term more structural employment generation"* (Middlebrook, 1997). The international and Ethiopian experiences are different in many ways although particularly in the way the programmes have been conceived, implemented and evolve over time into regular employment programmes (safety nets) focused on food insecure areas and households. All programmes should strive to protect and enhance rural livelihoods and reduce vulnerability to hunger. There would appear to be little doubt that the GoE can achieve both economic growth and social protection objectives, based on the experiences of other countries, although further lessons and parallels will need to be drawn within a defined research framework.

In the process of conducting this literature review important hunger and social protection/safety net issues have come to light which will need to be reflected in the philosophical approach to be presented in chapter four and the methodology presented in chapter five. The review highlights the following key research gaps in the

Ethiopian context that need to be addressed if a comprehensive set of findings and conclusions are to be reached as the major research output.

Research into social protection and employment based safety nets (EGS) in Ethiopian will need to fill the following research gaps and identify:

On Social Protection Policy and Institutions

- (a) Vulnerability Targeting: The targeting of specific income groups needs to be further defined to allow appropriate targeting responses;
- (b) The Policy Environment for Social Protection: the legal basis for a sound policy environment for NPDPM and EGS implementation has to be developed;
- (c) EGS Objectives for Social Protection: Lack of understanding of the different (relief and development) programme objectives for EGS will need to further defined and refined;
- (d) Institutional Reforms: The most appropriate organisational structure within the context of Ethiopia needs to be assessed against the present structure;
- (e) Resources and Funding: options for direct, programmable and sustainable resources allocations and allocation procedures need to be further identified;
- (f) Status of EGS Projects: Linking Relief to Development to Social Protection: In Ethiopia EGS focuses more on relief than development when compared to other international experiences. Why and what are the implications?
- (g) Sectors and Activities: EGS should focus on projects that bring economic productivity only but which elements are most appropriate to different contexts. In addition, major technical bottlenecks and opportunities in project design and follow up need to be identified;
- (h) Entitlement Protection and Enhancement: employment and asset creating options (short and long term) for individuals and communities and present bottlenecks need to be assessed.

On Implementation of EGS Works

- a) Staffing Procedures and Capacities: The Ethiopian programme is significantly understaffed when compared to other programmes. Why and what are the implications?
- b) Programme Efficiency: Procedures for the allocation of resources from national and international sources need to be assessed to the extent possible to maximise programmability within implementing structures;
- c) Targeting and Registration Procedures: Options for increasing the self targeting nature of EGS need to be further identified and impacts on vulnerability of modifying targeting systems need to be assessed;
- d) Shelf Projects and Contingency Plans: All effective EGS programmes require advanced planning and contingency systems. How does the Ethiopian ESG programme respond to this challenge.

- e) Payment Options (FFW/CFW): flexible and appropriate modes of payment (cash and kind) suited to specific food and labour market contexts need to be examined;
- f) Workers Equity On Site Work Facilities: The issue of workers equity needs to be further assessed as most LIPW establish basic provisions for the work force;
- g) Monitoring and Vigilance: detailed evaluation and impact monitoring procedures need to be clearly identified. Employment/income gains and entitlement failure strategies, the impacts on livelihoods of EGS interventions; and short and long term food security outcomes.

These research '*building blocks*' will form the basis for a comprehensive review of the Ethiopian EGS and review of the Maharashtra programme from a policy, institutional and implementation point of view.

3.3 Conclusion and Research Directions

The global and Ethiopian national literature surrounding food security and social protection through public works provides a suitable foundation for the research to proceed, as key texts and themes have been clearly identified. However, the role of EGS in particular, and its actual contribution towards hunger eradication, have not been clearly mapped out in Ethiopia and the policy and programme implications for such an enquiry remain substantial. The work of theoreticians and practitioners such as Sen, Drèze, Von Braun and Webb have enriched the subject of study and linkages and research connections are waiting to be made.

This review has presented a comprehensive summary of present food security and literature and debates both in the context of the international and Ethiopian experience. A number of key research gaps have been highlighted in this review and these will inform the scope and structure of the research. It is concluded however that food security remains an income and not food production problem for many groups, that social protection through public works remains an important policy option for government and that the Ethiopia EGS, in the light of the international experience, is in need of targeted research to assist in reviewing the effectiveness and efficiency of the programme in meeting stated hunger eradication objectives.

Through such an approach, when combined with quantitative and qualitative field results, findings to questions will come to the surface as will recommendations for future research areas.

CHAPTER 4: **POLICY PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE FOR EGS**

4.1 Important Policy and Institutional Issues

This chapter is original in the Ethiopian context as it focuses upon important dimensions of social protection, through EGS, and in the light of a proposed '*Household Hunger Model*'. The challenges embodied in providing such protection are considerable and policy makers will need to be informed of the nature of rural vulnerability if the policy environment is to address the specific needs of the most vulnerable. It presents the researchers conceptual framework for understanding policy, institutional and implementation aspects of EGS, as a component of wider social protection measures and is informed by the researchers experience in implementing employment based safety nets over the past 10 years.⁴² The conceptual approach is however informed by the findings of the literature review in chapter 3.

The chapter focuses on critical EGS issues, through the identification of an idealised project cycle. Identification of the various stages of the project cycle (i.e. the process of indicative programming; identification and formulation; finance; implementation and monitoring; evaluation) assists in highlighting key issues for the different elements of the research⁴³. A summary of important conceptual positions and distinctions, related to EGS, are presented as a fundamental rethink about EGS as a social protection programme in Ethiopia. Important conclusions and directions are forwarded to guide the main elements of the research. This conceptual approach has already formed the basis for planning of EC and GoE EGS programmes in Amhara and Tigray national regional state and formed the basis for the study visits to Maharashtra.

4.1.1 Dimensions of a Good Social Protection Programme through EGS

In outlining the conceptual framework, a systemic approach to understanding social protection and EGS in the context of Ethiopia is needed. For this purpose it is important to ask an important social policy question: how can Ethiopia provide minimum resources to protect the lives of its citizens, through ongoing EGS programme? This question should guide the conceptual basis for the measures themselves. I use the term social protection to mean actions taken by the state to

⁴² The researcher has coordinated programmes where up to 10,000 workers have been employed in public works related to rural roads, integrated watershed development programmes, irrigation and afforestation works.

⁴³ Projects can be conceptualised and managed in many different ways and while terminology may differ, a number of fundamental principles endure. A system known as PCM has been developed over the last number of years as a tool to separate clearly definable stages within a project cycle and this model is used here to allow a more detailed philosophical approach to understanding LIPW planning and implementation requirements. Each stage in the process of planning and implementation involves decisions into different elements such as policy, resource acquisition and management, targeting, sectors of intervention, wage payment options etc. Each stage in the PCM cycle involves constant assessment and reassessment based on monitoring results. If EGS objectives are to be met then a minimum set of activities need to be undertaken.

address vulnerability, risk and chronic poverty in accordance with the policy and rights based framework of Ethiopia. Social safety nets have tended to be used in the context of developing countries where narrow, rather than broad social security objectives are being targeted.

Prior to embarking on the overall theoretical approach for social protection through EGS, it is worth presenting the basic dimensions of the approach adopted here as follows:

- a) they should address both the *social* and *physical vulnerability* and *risk (shocks) experienced by the poor*;
- b) they should focus on *productive asset creation* only;
- c) be planned and *mainstreamed* into *normal development plans and integrated* with other social protection measures such as insurance schemes and social funds;
- d) be *demand driven, employment focused and preferably self targeted*;
- e) be *participatory* and compliment the periods of greatest *labour demand*;
- f) if food security is one of the major concerns, the programme should be based around *nutritional enhancement*;
- g) and should encourage *public policy dialogue* on poverty causation.

These principles must inform both the framework for policy and practice, if social protection and welfare objectives are to be met as a contribution towards poverty reduction strategies.

Employment generation interventions can be large public works programmes employing tens of thousands of workers or small discrete project related works involving only a handful of workers. The determining factor for size of works relates to the policy of the government, the resources available and the specific project requirement (labour demand) among others. For example, soil and water conservation activities or rural access road construction necessarily involves both large numbers of unskilled or semi-skilled workers and high labour intensity. However, the development of hand dug wells, for example, may in fact only require 3-5 workers to excavate the well. Despite these variations in scale, it is posited that well designed safety net programmes (of which EGS is an example) share similar approaches at various levels of the project. The following analysis (Table 4.1), based on the experience of the researcher, provides a summary of the main features of the safety net approach offered under an idealised EGS.

Table 4.1 Summary of the Main Features of a Safety Net Approach

| Characteristic | Broad Statement Of Safety Net Principles |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Legal Environment | Formal legal framework required to make programme implementation mandatory, issues such programme finance, wage rates, payment procedures, organisational responsibilities to be defined in detail within legal framework. Such a legal environment can only be realised with full strong political and organisational support for the programme. |
| Policy Environment | Specific EGS policies need to be developed within the legal framework created by government. Other sector specific policies also apply. |
| Objectives | Livelihood protection and asset creation through employment generation on LIPW. |
| Rationale | Linking Relief and Development approaches. |
| Programme Focus | Natural resource conservation and economic infrastructure development – all productivity related interventions. Also focused on vulnerable income areas only. |
| Funding Arrangements | Financial support base of programme needs to be largely domestic (governmental funding possibly through taxation sources) although complimentary international support useful. Multi-annual commitments. |
| Implementation | Mainly public works programmes although can involve a combination of public and private works. Programmes/projects should be scalable to absorb labour and based on different appropriate remuneration models. |
| Project Resources | Cash over food based preferable to help increase purchasing power. Capital inputs and organisational inputs also needed. |
| Responsible Institutions | Responsibility for implementation with formally mandated line departments. Formal EGS office with executive functions. |
| LRD Institutional Linkages | Linkage between disaster prevention organisations and line ministries essential. Clear institutional responsibilities need to be established for effective linkage. |
| Shelf Project Planning | Shelf projects equal to expected annual programme demand need to remain updated on the shelf. |
| Labour Intensity | Minimum of 60 per cent labour cost for each intervention. |
| Skill Requirement | Largely focused on unskilled workers. May involve semi-skilled in key positions. |
| Target Group/Targeting | Self targeting mechanism prefer able although, this should depend also on availability of programme resources. |
| Wage Policy and Workers Entitlement | Below market wage essential but must be above minimum natural wage. Workers to be entitled to normal legal rights prescribed to natural workers in country of implementation. |
| On Site Amenities | All amenities (water, health, shade etc.) to be routinely provided. |
| Monitoring and Evaluation | To be participatory and focused on impact of income transfers through direct (wage) and indirect (asset creation). |
| Role of International Organisations | Supportive only. Not as key players as this leads to un-sustainable safety nets. |

4.1.2 Proposed ‘Household Hunger Model’ (HHM) for EGS

In the light of the dimensions of social protection and safety nets outlined above, how can food insecurity processes be better understood, so as to assist the public administration in targeting the most vulnerable and risk affected groups? In order that we may understand the impact of EGS on rural livelihoods and food security, a basic model by which we may understand the contribution of income derived through public works is presented below based on the basic working of the food economy approach. This model has been developed by the researcher.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, in an agricultural subsistence economy, food production deficits at the household level need to be made up by food purchases through alternative incomes and liquid assets (including savings and inheritance). The value of the food deficit therefore depends on the minimum cost of supplying sufficient and nutritious food to bridge the deficit. Accordingly, income derived through employment generation schemes can assist in bridging this gap and also in meeting minimum household consumption requirements. In the context of Ethiopia, a food security equation could therefore be formulated as follows, reflecting the unsustainability of rural livelihoods in general:

| | | |
|--|--------|--|
| Value (financial and non-financial) of food production deficit at household level. | \geq | Income entitlements and liquid assets available for food purchase. |
|--|--------|--|

The value of this food production deficit can be measured against different international benchmarks related to nutritional requirements, ranging between ~2,100-2,350 Kcal per person per day. The greater the value of the income entitlements as a percentage of the food production deficit the more food secure a household would be. Of course the reverse is also true that the greater the food production deficit as a percentage of income entitlements the more food insecure a household may be considered. In Ethiopia, sustainable livelihoods can be attained through either household food self-sufficiency (consumption needs = own production + income through employment = total consumption). However, in many areas of Ethiopia production plus income entitlements still falls short of real food needs and significant levels of wasting and stunting are being recorded. This is the argument used by many for providing food aid although to bridge the production deficit, although as the model shows, cash based transfers for public works would also assist in bridging the household consumption deficit.

In a rural agricultural economy such as Ethiopia, both on-farm and off-farm incomes are important. The balance between supply and demand is crucial. The value of the production deficit can be devised by calculating the amount of the production shortfall multiplied by the cost of food purchase. Of course, the shortfall can be made up by a range of food purchases (teff, sorghum, wheat, maize etc.) related to purchasing capacity and cultural consumption norms.

One might assume that the value of the production (livelihood) deficit would be, as stated, the minimum cost required to bridge the deficit although, in reality, households may make decisions based on income that allow higher value commodity food purchases to meet consumption preferences. The value of income entitlements needed to assure food security is equal to the food production deficit multiplied by the price of food as indicated below:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--------|--|
| Food Production X Price of Food | \geq | Income entitlements and liquid assets channelled to food purchase. |
|------------------------------------|--------|--|

The 'food production deficit' multiplied by the 'price of food' can be referred to as the 'purchase requirement'. It is obvious that the greater the value of own production the lesser the purchase requirement would be. Food security is therefore determined by a number of production and non-production variables which need to be further examined as part of the causal nexus that leads to hunger. In particular, the value of income generated through EGS works can be considered an important income in making up household income and consumption deficits and therefore consumption. Income entitlements (trade based, production based, own labour and inheritance or transfer entitlements) will differ from individual to individual and from household to household depending on a wide range of factors such as social status.

The scale of the production deficit also corresponds to the household food consumption requirement which in itself is determined by the number of individuals in the household, their age, sex, relationship and working status. The main variable here with regard to consumption demand is income and population. Families with between 5 and 7 children will inevitably be more food insecure than a family, of equivalent income status, with 3 children if the production profile is the same. Clearly the greater the consumption deficit the greater the risk of under-nutrition.

Put simply, the greater the food production deficit the greater the need for mobilising income entitlements. Figure 4.1 shows the 'household production' and 'income substitution' (income substituted for food purchase) dynamic for these three household groups.⁴⁴

Figure 4.1 Production and Income Substitution Dynamic by Income Group Model for Ethiopian Farmers

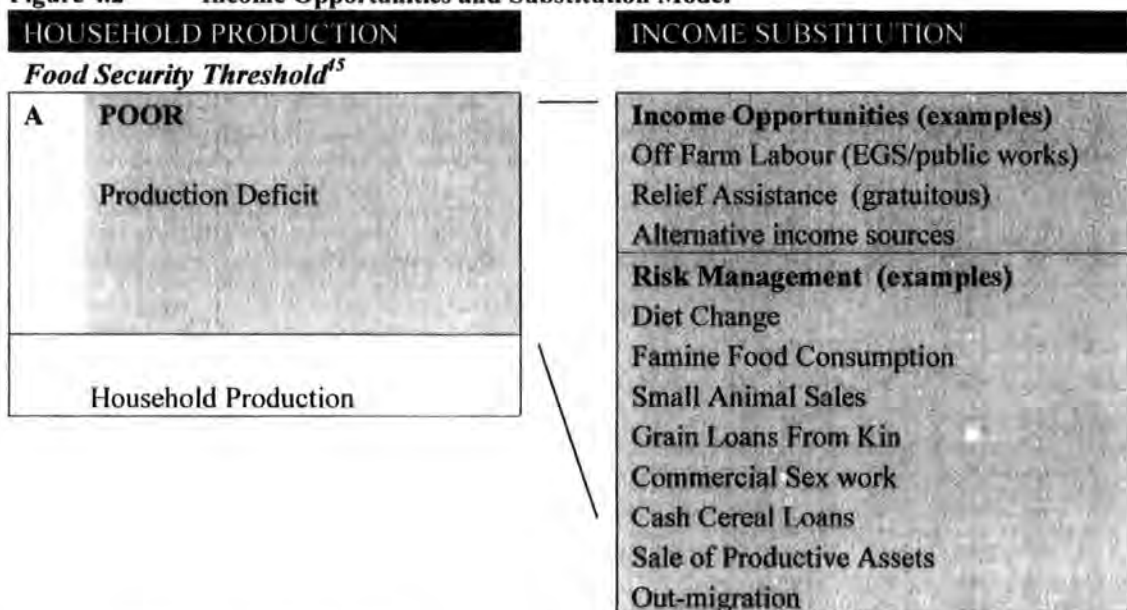
| HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION | | INCOME | |
|----------------------|--------|--|--|
| A- POOR | \geq | Income Entitlement Food Substitution Coping mechanisms | |
| Production Deficit | | | |
| Household Production | | | |
| B MIDDLE | \geq | Income Entitlement Food Substitution | |
| Production Deficit | | | |
| Household Production | | | |
| C RICH | | | |
| Household Production | | | |

⁴⁴ Throughout this research the concept of 'poor', 'middle' and 'rich' households will be referred to and while this classification is only used to demonstrate different consumption requirements and income entitlements, it also assists in mirroring the classical socio-economic classification used in many different contexts.

These different income groups are idealised but they broadly represent the context of rural livelihoods in Ethiopia. The poor production **group (A)** will need to mobilise various forms of income entitlements in order to make up for the production deficit. This invariably includes off farm labour (frequently through EGS programmes, paid on the basis of 15 Kg per person per month, although also through Income Generating Activities (IGAs) and remittance work), collection of famine foods, sale of productive assets such as rudiments, grain loans from kin, cash and cereal loans, diet change and relief and eventually out-migration. Income entitlements are also sometimes seen as coping mechanisms in a rural agricultural economy although in fact off-farm income can also frequently be the preferred option. For the landless, off farm employment is often the only option.

Group B are more food self-sufficient and need to rely less on off-farm income generation activities. **Group C** are sufficient in own production in most years and are not in need of alternative income sources to remain food secure. However, all households have greater income needs than for food as health, education, festivals also need to be funded. In order to take these models a step further a production deficit of lets say 50 per cent of consumption requirements could involve any one or more of the following income entitlement responses as shown in Figure 4.3 below. Figure 4.2 below summarises the possible options that households might have to fill the production deficit or production gap. Coping strategies are an important component of household risk management, whereby alternative income opportunities are maximised to enable, cash purchase of food items. The potential role of EGS in acting as a transfer programme can easily be noted, both in terms of the direct income effect but also in protecting valuable assets from monetisation.

Figure 4.2 Income Opportunities and Substitution Model



⁴⁵ I use the term '*food security threshold*', to signify the attainment of household food security, thereby implying that profits may be accumulated and investments made. Only after this point can economic growth at the household level proceed.

The richer the household the fewer responses needed to meet production deficits through alternative income substitution. This model applies largely to a subsistence agricultural economy although this closely describes the income strategies employed by those who fail to meet household nutritional requirements through production alone. If EGS is not available, various coping mechanisms will be employed, leading to the steady degradation of wealth and nutritional security. Risk management should proceed on the basis of minimising the size of the maximum livelihood loss. EGS can therefore protect assets needed for production from loss and assist households in effective risk management. Attention is drawn to the substantial income gains that can be made through EGS and the potential role in making up for production deficits. These models effectively characterise the functioning of the household food economy for poor, mode and richer households in the north-east highlands. The role to be played by an employment based safety net, providing income through employment and building assets is clearly an important component of a poverty and hunger reduction programme.

4.1.3 Broad Based Economic Growth and Employment Generation

The level of employment and productivity of labour in Ethiopia are important factors for enhanced economic growth. If employment is to be considered as a factor input in the production of a good or service, then employment generation necessarily involves increasing employment opportunities and expanding investments. The process of expanding labour-intensive employment opportunities also directly promotes poverty alleviation. Poverty alleviation, as we have seen, involves either reducing the household food-production-deficit or maximising off farm employment and income opportunities. Employment assists in generating income, to enhance consumption and reinvestment, thereby contributing towards a sustainable livelihoods as the overall objective.

In Chapter 2, it is already stated that labour intensive public works for food security can meet a number of objectives among which nutritional security is a primary one. Poverty alleviation programmes therefore need to be carefully programmed and implemented to maximise the intended flow of benefits from the investment towards maximising employment creation. Labour market patterns reflect the nature of poverty. Therefore, analysis of the labour market situation assists in recognising the seasonality of employment and its impact on low income groups. Accordingly, labour market policies need to reflect the nature of the marginalisation of certain groups through the regulation of employment, labour institutions, labour laws, labour rights and the maximisation of labour intensive methods in the development process. As certain groups are excluded from the labour market and unless additional income entitlements are available, food insecurity will increase. Exclusion can involve low supply of labour opportunities and barriers to labour market entry.

In Ethiopia, supply of labour-based jobs is low but labour demand for temporary, seasonal and permanent employment is considerable. Wage prices therefore remain

depressed and competition for available employment is maximised. Under these conditions, a policy of addressing poverty alleviation under the employment sector through the increasing intensification of works needs to be urgently considered. In addition, as social protection is an important policy issue in Ethiopia, employment based safety nets remain an important welfare measures. It is also important to devise which labour market policies need to be considered in order to maximise employment and downstream livelihood benefits as poverty and hunger eradication objectives cannot be met without maximising employment opportunities and investments. Accordingly, it is suggested that the following policy objectives would assist in reaching poverty alleviation objectives through intervention in labour markets through EGS.

- a) Strengthening Employment Policies for Social Protection: Strategies for employment need to form the core of national development policies and strategies. In so doing, employment generation policies also need to encourage the establishment of grassroots organisations, trade unions and private investments.
- b) Increasing the Labour Intensity of the Development Process: Where possible and desirable, the labour intensity of the development process needs to be increased to generate employment and further investments among vulnerable communities. Existing and future planned works can be modified with the aim of productive employment generation.
- c) Enhancing Targeted Assistance to Vulnerable Low Income Groups: The labour market should be assessed to target groups marginalised from the development process and in so doing focus on both long term structural and short-term transitory employment and underemployment. Such groups generally include subsistence farmers, youths, women, elderly and disabled.
- d) Understanding Rural Livelihoods and Risk Management: The nature of rural livelihoods and associated social risk management strategies need to be more fully understood by public and private organisations. Only then, can interventions assists in achieving wider poverty and hunger objectives. The aim would be to move away from food security as an objective towards livelihoods as an outcome, through increasing employment.
- e) Enhancing the Productivity of Labour: To encourage employment opportunities, support to workers including training, access to credit and education needs to be made available to increase both entry into labour markets and the value of wage earnings. Wage earnings below the natural wage rate (survival) need to be discouraged.
- f) Protective Labour Market Policies and Social and Workers Rights: The full basic rights of workers needs to be guaranteed as defined in international instruments of

the ILO⁴⁶ for example and the empowerment of marginal groups, through entry into labour markets, needs to be encouraged.

The considerations presented above, when combined with the dimensions of EGS outlined above, presents an important foundation upon which the preferred approach adopted by governments to eradicate poverty through labour market interventions can be assessed. Opportunities exist in Ethiopia, to increase employment, even within existing expenditure constraints, and awareness of important conceptual issues can substantially help in this process.

4.1.4 Labour Markets and Wage Rates

In trying to understand the value of labour and wage rates it is necessary to look at the functioning of the labour market. The labour market is not like other factor markets because once workers are employed the efficiency and volume of output can vary tremendously depending upon worker skills, capacity and on worker motivation to complete given activities. Under EGS, workers are formed into groups and group work norms are calculated at piece rates. The determinations of wage rates depend on the supply of and demand for that kind of labour as well as the design of the safety net itself. The supply of labour also depends on a number of factors such as the size of the population, school-leaving and retirement ages, skills, training, health and education. The demand for labour in an economy relates directly by, for example, the size and strength of demand for the goods and services produced by workers and the ratio of capital to labour related costs. Accordingly, the labour market cannot be seen as homogenous but in fact, but made up of separate markets each with particular characteristics.

The market demand for skilled artisans is higher than demand for unskilled or semi-skilled labour. Accordingly, the wage rate is determined by the factors of supply and demand. Under normal conditions of employment, wage rates would fall as the supply of labour increased and rise as the supply decreased. Accordingly, it might be argued that properly designed EGS programme should respect the labour laws and value of supply and demand. This would lead the targeting procedure to be adopted as one of 'self targeting', whereby individuals avail themselves to work at their own initiative once they accept the offered wage payment. However, the Ethiopian EGS proceeds through the targeting of labour by 'administrative' or 'community targeting' methods thus bypassing the normal labour market. It may however be argued that offering a below market wage may lead people to be forced to work below the minimum natural wage in which case the number of days work by an individual should not be restricted to 15 per month as is currently the case. Under the EGS programme in Ethiopia the national wage rate has been fixed by the government as being 15 Kg of food per person per month (1/2 KG per day).⁴⁷ This remains a constant wage value even if the

⁴⁶ The ILO Social Security Minimum Standards Convention of 1952, as well as additional conventions, outline the basis for minimum standards in such works as EGS.

⁴⁷ The above figure also goes some way to explaining the distribution of income as a result of supply and demand for different values of labour. In Ethiopia, where an average of ~ 2,000,000 people require

supply of labour outweighs demand or if demand outweighs labour. The justification being that the food ration is determined as the natural minimum wage. However, wage rates will also need to be set at a level that stops the loss of important production assets, otherwise the fall into chronic poverty will be guaranteed. EGS needs to be protect livelihoods as well as act as a 'springboard' for wider integration into rural markets.

For households experiencing hunger, alternative income sources are required, the value of which depends upon the income gap outlines in 4.1.2 above. If income opportunities can not be found through normal market mechanisms then participating in EGS, in exchange for food or cash, is an important way of topping up income and enhancing food consumption. However, the level of demand for EGS will depend on the wage being offered. If the wage is an above market wage, this will lead to distortion in local agricultural wage levels and labour demand may be above the available resources budgeted by the implementing institution. In addition, setting the wage level too high also increases the errors in inclusion in public works (i.e. those who's incomes are not below the poverty line, and therefore are only attracted by the higher than market wage levels. This is not desirable. On the other side, if the wage being offered is too low, only the poorest income groups (those most food insecure) will apply which is fine, as long as this is not below the 'minimum natural wage'. Given that the calculation of the wage rate also determines what food can be purchased on local markets, what factors need to be taken into consideration?

In addressing the issues of labour demand and wage rates we need to explore the theory of value which lie at the centre of most economic paradigms. Both classical and post-Keynesian economists sought understanding of value within the context of the '*labour theory of value*' given that production costs were largely determined by labour in pre-industrial Europe, much as Ethiopia remains today. Neo-classical economists, while commenting on the fundamental principles of value, sought understanding in the market act of exchange and developed the marginal theory of value. Despite these philosophical departures, some basic principles need to be observed despite the fact they many of them are somewhat abstract. The theory of value is vital to an understanding of two important themes, which go to the core of theories of food insecurity:

1. the distribution of wealth and income (through wages, rent and profit); and,
2. the maintenance of micro-economic stability.

If individuals have sustainable livelihoods, there would be no problem, from a food security perspective, with economic value between commodity items. However, the exchange of labour and materials is important because what each of us produces is either largely of marginally consumed by others. The important point is that in a subsistence economy, production deficits need to be compensated for by exchange of

food assistance for up to 12 months to cover significant production deficits, providing labour through EGS can dramatically decrease the household food consumption gap at the same time a generating economic infrastructure important for broad based economic growth and employment.

either other forms of production or labour services (here called income entitlement substitution). The value of these items depends on conditions and variables of supply and demand and according to Adam Smith, nature sets the minimum wage:

"A man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must even upon most occasions be somewhat more; otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family, and the race of such workmen could not last beyond the first generation" (Smith)

Thomas Malthus, in his famous Essay on the Principle of Population in 1798, also stated that:

"The natural price of labour depends on the price of food, necessities and conveniences required for the support of the labourer and his/her family. With a rise in the price of food and necessities, the natural price of labour will rise; with the fall in their price, the natural price of labour will fall."

In a subsistence agricultural economy such as that of Ethiopia, a minimum wage has yet to be clearly defined although nutritional indicators of 2,100 Kcal (NPDPM recommendation) per person are currently used in programme design in Ethiopia. However, this does not cover all energy requirements as labourers on EGS frequently use up to 2,400 Kcal/day. Moreover, wage payment rates covering food needs only do not cover all household expenditures – health, education, tax etc. In most areas of Ethiopia, the poor stunting and wasting indicators show that the minimum wage as described above are not being met through EGS. Moreover, economic theory suggests that for economic growth to be attained, new investments must be made. These investments are made through the accumulation of profit. In deficit producing areas the first objective is to achieve nutritional security and medium to longer-term objectives of rural economic growth, implying investment and profit, may be many years away. Given that profit is an important aspect without which growth can not proceed, economic growth at the household level is an important factor in poverty and hunger reduction. As Figure 4.2 above shows, it is important that households not only meet production deficits and consumption shortfalls, but they also surpass what I have called the '*food security threshold*', above which profits are made and investments can begin. Social protection policies must meet the first objective of meeting minimum income needs where as poverty reduction requires the accumulation of wealth through capital. This is central to what is termed '*social risk management*'. In attaining profitable livelihoods, by increasing income entitlements and investments, the process of reducing poverty levels can be augmented.

It is posited that while variations in the price of labour exist throughout the agricultural season, labour prices are affected by supply and demand conditions and must be equal to or above the minimum 'natural wage'. However, in most cases the value of labour and associated income attained under EGS provides for food needs only. Therefore, alternative sources of employment and income are needed in the economy for those attending EGS in the long term, to devise an exit strategy to other more sustainable income sources. Labour value can usefully be divided into four constituent parts as follows:

- a) constant capital (production capital);
- b) variable capital (human labour); and,
- c) surplus value (excess value over and above capital and labour costs).
- d) Other factor inputs.

As variable capital, wage rates offered must be below market rates but above the natural minimum wage if labour is to be governed by the normal rules of supply and demand. Clearly, local market conditions (the cost of living) will affect the value of such inputs.

4.1.5 Additional Policy and Institutional Consideration

The planning of EGS should initially focus on the macro-level policy, strategy and planning environment. Decisions need to be taken to decide on the overall objectives of the social protection programme, on the labour intensity/capital input ratio, on the process of implementation and on all other worker related policies and issues. The following examples represents the minimum set of indicative programming issues which need to be partially detailed from the start of the design stage. The definition of these factors will become more detailed in the identification and formulation phase.

- a) The objectives of the social protection policy in the light of the vulnerability profiles of the poorest groups being assisted;
- b) The objectives of the EGS as a contributing policy measure in co-ordination with other comprehensive and complimentary policy objectives;
- c) The legal framework for the intervention (formal or informal safety net) and associated actions;
- d) Definition food insecurity areas to target;
- e) Which sectors of intervention bring tangible benefits to act as a springboard for broad based economic recovery;
- f) An assessment of which factor inputs are needed (cash/kind/government/donors);
- g) Clearly defined commitment and disbursement procedures;
- h) Assessment and roles of the responsible implementing authority(s);
- i) Development of detailed and integrated annual project plans;
- j) Selection of targeting procedures (self/administrative);
- k) The process and responsibility for shelf project preparation;
- l) Works proximity for workers;
- m) Wage rates calculations and payment procedures;
- n) Procedures for the establishment and functioning (organisation and work norms) of work groups;
- o) Calculate skilled and unskilled labour absorption capacity of projects;
- p) Define desirable labour intensity by sector;
- q) Detail participatory monitoring and evaluation procedures.

Adequately assessing these factors would then form the basis upon which to proceed with the detailed identification and formulation phase. The main focus would be to

determine the optimal kind of works to mitigate against further production deficits and to maximise the income transfer to marginal and food insecure groups. A number of different techniques can be applied to increase the likelihood of targeting appropriate beneficiary groups and these must be carefully considered. Assessment of immediate (employment) and long-term (development) objectives need to be stated. Some of the more important dimensions are further elaborated below:

4.1.5.1 Selecting Objectives

In order that effective social protection policy is translated into effective EGS programmes, targeting the most vulnerable and enhancing livelihoods, the following EGS objectives are postulated. EGS should provide:

- a) temporary, gainful and productive employment to vulnerable groups;
- b) contribute to a reduction in livelihood risk factors and resilience to disaster through a build up of community based economic assets;
- c) reinforce the work ethos of gratuitous relief beneficiaries.

These objectives should be adhered to and assist in guiding implementing institutions in the selection of vulnerable areas, groups, targeting approach, the selection of works to be undertaken as well as the rural of labour engagement.

4.1.5.2 Resourcing

Social protection costs money. If derived through taxation, as is the case in Maharashtra, then political and social support for the programme needs to be strong as urban based taxation benefits largely rural communities. In Ethiopia, where government revenue to run the scheme is lacking, EGS tends to be resourced through the supply of food aid. This supply is neither well timed or predictable, and does not necessarily mirror the levels of vulnerability and programme demands.

The inputs are usually referred to '*factor inputs*' or '*factors of production*' in the process of producing a good or service. Resources for labour intensive public works can be categorised as those falling broadly under the title of '*labour*', '*capital*' and '*natural resources*'. The balance between these three vital inputs depends on the detailed nature of the activity itself and on the degree to which generating employment is a central objective. The normal process involves the preparation of a detailed cost estimate and work plan which exhaustively describes the various inputs to be made. The cost estimate details all recurrent and capital input costs and links them to specific activities as detailed in the work plan. The work plan details the work schedule.

The various factor inputs may come from a number of different sources of which the natural environment, local populations, government, multi-lateral and bi-lateral and NGOs are the most important in the Ethiopian context. The various inputs include: unskilled, skilled and semiskilled workers; hand tools; machinery; equipment and

materials; on site amenities; transport facilities; and, training inputs. However, in Ethiopia, food aid is utilised as the primary EGS resource.⁴⁸

A number of options are open to project financiers with regard to the origin and nature of the resource. Projects can be funded centrally by government, loan funded (either market loan or concession based) through investment banks or funded through grants provided by multi-lateral and bi-lateral agencies. However, in making such arrangements, all successful EGS works share one common element: the programmability of the resource. Accordingly, and where possible, resources for EGS should be planned and budgeted for on a multi-annual basis. One way of achieving this is through government revenue derived through taxation. This allows for an annual budgeted commitment to such projects and supports both long term development planning and the notion of disaster preparedness. Loans should only be used to finance EGS where a positive Internal Rate of Return (IRR) has been calculated and this mainly restricts interventions to road construction and irrigation schemes.

The use of grants can assist greatly in intervention areas where a negative IRR is calculated but where the government has an obligation to increase access to economic and social infrastructure as part of the overall development effort. While this notion fits uncomfortable within the contemporary concept of investment led development, international examples of targeted safety net programmes are based on both humanitarian and development objectives. EGS works share similar characteristics. In general, grants for such projects are provided through the relief and rehabilitation budget lines of different organisations.

4.1.5.3 Vulnerable Area Targeting

In the same way as objectives should be carefully defined so should the geographical area to be targeted by the project. In most cases EGS programmes target rural areas vulnerable, low potential groups within these areas. In areas where EGS is implemented because of community wide vulnerability (i.e. communities affected by drought) targeting areas and not specific groups could be considered. Such areas are usually endowed with poor infrastructure and low purchasing power and EGS can have a positive impact on both characteristics, if properly planned and implemented.

In Ethiopia, vulnerable areas are usually related to what are called '*food economy Zones*' where certain characteristics of production, and under production, can be observed. However, the nature of food security does not preclude the existence of substantial numbers of vulnerable people even in areas of surplus production. Accordingly, detailed studies of income (culminating in the drawing of a poverty line) need to be conducted on an area basis to serve as area targeting justification and prioritisation.

⁴⁸ However, frequently 60 per cent of the cost of food aid goes towards international transport, port charges and Internal Transport, Storage and Handling (ITSH) costs. Food aid is not an ideal resource for income transfer operations and Cash For Work (CFW) provides a better model.

4.1.5.4 Targeting

Once the area to be targeted has been selected, ideally based on the volume of labour demand, the mode of targeting individuals is to be selected. Different approaches to targeting have been partially reviewed in previous chapters.

Targeting is - the mode of selection of workers - is of critical importance. While much has been written about the merits of different approaches some fundamental principles still need to be observed. It is clear that all good LIPW projects for food security tend to use self targeting procedures by offering below market wages to attract the most vulnerable groups with few to no employment opportunities. However, administrative and community based targeting – where the most vulnerable are selected by local authorities – can also be effective although as an approach it is often open to corruption and to errors of inclusion and exclusion.

Self targeting provides a cost effective way of identifying the poorest and it avoids errors of exclusion. Critics state that such an approach should only be used in localities where employment needs don't significantly outweigh resources or the labour absorption capacity of the project. However, at the risk of repeating myself, a demand driven EGS approach needs to be both self targeting (focused on keeping the self selection process sharp) as this clearly singles out, through a process of self selection, the poorest whilst at the same time removing much administrative burden from local organisations. The wage rate paid is critical as the maximum number of workers to be employed times the wage rate, also to be called potential employment, must relate to the resources available for the project. Quite clearly a project demanding only 1,000 workers cannot absorb 5,000 without creating huge inefficiency. EGS projects need to keep track of potential demand and while community based administrative targeting can be effective in this respect caution needs to be taken not to exclude poorer groups who are less well connected. The role and capability of local administrators in this regard is critical.

Care must also be taken not to include un-necessarily those who should in fact be classified as un-abled bodied in the selection process and gratuitous relief may also be a desirable component here. Often, mothers with children, the elderly and partially disabled participate in public works often to their detriment.

Employment needs assessment should also be undertaken prior to implementation so as to assess the demand. Once this has been done workers need to be registered with the organising authority and a guarantee of work should be given by the local or regional administration.

4.1.5.5 Maximising Employment Ratios

What does increasing the labour intensity of the EGS mean in practice? Over the last twenty years or more international development assistance (i.e. that provided by

multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental organisations) has tended to focus on subsidies for capital goods and services rather than subsidies for labour and labour based projects. This is despite the fact that maximising employment opportunities act to bolster the effective purchasing power of marginal communities and therefore contributes towards social policy objectives. It is worthwhile contrasting, through the identification of binary opposites, the capital and labour intensive approach to public works in the context of Ethiopia to assist in clearly delineating between the two disparate modes. Moreover, as suggested in previous chapters the interface between labour intensive public works and food security has in many countries met with direct investments in labour and labour markets. This too has been the case since 1993 in Ethiopia following the introduction of the NPDPM. However, in order that this research comprehensively reviews the experience with EGS in Ethiopia at the same time as identifying the potentials for such programmes to improve rural livelihoods, specific and detailed EGS criteria need to be defined.

In Ethiopia, many of the advantages of developing a more labour intensive development process remain latent and improvements in the policy framework, institutional arrangements and implementation procedures are needed to increase the effectiveness of social protection programmes. Before considering the range of implementation level issues, the benefits of adopting a labour over a capital-intensive approach need to be appraised. Table 4.2 summarises the major difference between capital and labour intensive approaches, based on the researchers experience implementation.

Table 4.2 Binaries at Play in Capital and Labour Intensive Public Works

| Capital Intensive Works | Labour Intensive Works |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Sectoral policy environment | Multi-sectoral Poverty alleviation policy environment |
| Development focused | Welfare and Development focused |
| Capital Intensive (70 %) | Labour Intensive (70%) |
| Productivity support | Productivity and Livelihood support |
| Equipment based technology | Labour based technology |
| Machine focused | People focused |
| Centralised planning | Decentralised planning |
| Foreign Currency needs | National currency needs |
| Foreign currency transactions | National currency of in-kind transactions |
| High equipment running costs | Low equipment running costs |
| Simple labour management | Complex labour management |

Capital intensive works minimise employment opportunities in favour of qualified labour inputs and costly equipment. Often, capital intensive works are preferred as labour related problems are minimised. By comparison, labour intensive works substantially boost employment opportunities and employ manual and semi-skilled labour as an essential input. Other important factors in the labour intensive process include its role in social welfare, in educating the labour force, the reduced need for foreign currency and its contribution towards supporting livelihoods (household risk management). There are advantages and disadvantages in both approaches although, labour intensive works on balance carry a broader range of welfare related social benefits. For EGS projects, as a planning guideline, the value of constant capital for EGS projects is to be less than 30 per cent of the value of the project and variable

capital (labour) 70 per cent or higher. This is an important social policy planning guideline.

Programme objectives and design clearly influence the labour intensity of works programmes. As the overall value of variable labour costs should not be less than 70 per cent in most cases, the selection of works is important. If programmes are designed with the specific intention of increasing employment opportunities then labour intensity is maximised and the targeting procedure and wage rate will be designed to meet the needs of the most vulnerable households. Effectively, well designed public works for employment generation should also be focused as effective resource transfer programmes while at the same time as maintaining the normal project objectives and sectoral implementation guidelines for such works. The net transfer of resources to workers can be measured as the total labour cost as a percentage of the over all programme costs. However, the impact of such resource transfers on food consumption depends on many variables. In designing and implementing public works, issues of labour supply and demand need to be clearly evaluated so that distortions to the labour market are not created. In the case of self-targeting issues such as correct wage rates are critical in attracting only poorer households to participate in the works. In making such calculations, the following minimum set of information needs to be gathered:

- a) Labour supply: effective supply of labour on the local market;
- b) Labour demand: numbers in need of employment;
- c) Category of worker available: skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled;
- d) Nature of employment needed: full time, seasonal, occasional etc.;
- e) Market wage rates;
- f) Targeting procedures most appropriate to attract vulnerable groups only;
- g) Gender characteristics of the workforce;
- h) Assessment of the resources available for employment programmes;
- i) Assessment of ongoing and employment future initiatives and labour absorption capacity;
- j) Assessment of capital/labour factor input ratio and ratio options;
- k) Project labour scalability;
- l) Additional work force needs;
- m) Assessment of responsible line departments, NGOs etc.

Finding the answers to these important questions starts with a clear understanding of the nature of the vulnerability experienced by different poor people and also the assets and capabilities that they have for mobilisation. Once addressed, the issues raised above can must be addressed through appropriate EGS project design as is the case in Maharashtra. Within the vulnerabilities of the poor defined, by quantifying the values of the HHM, employment opportunities can be created through EGS to enhance either long term or supplementary employment for urban and rural populations.

4.1.5.6 Economic Asset Creation

For vulnerable households to be protected, the EGS programmes need to build important economic and physical infrastructure to further decrease the overall level of vulnerability. The economic and infrastructure assets created can be under common ownership (roads, schools, health facilities etc.) or under individual control and utilisation (oxen, farm tools etc.) as is practices in Maharashtra and Ethiopia, although to a far lesser extent. It is also important that the wage payment, cash or food, to workers in exchange for labour, should not fall below the minimum natural wage. The minimum desirable affect of such public works should be seen as the creation of income in order to build purchasing power and thereby stabilise nutrition. At its maximum impact, EGS should contribute towards overcoming risk, increasing economic productivity per household, community wide. The impact of such EGS approaches can therefore be assessed depending upon which one of the following four levels of economic asset creation have been attained (see Table 4.3 below).

Table 4.3 Income Effects of Labour Intensive Public Works

| Levels | Income Effects | Characteristics |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1 | Enable nutritional security | During the course of employment nutritional security is reached for the worker as a result of income entitlement substitution |
| 2 | Enable access to surplus income | In addition to nutritional security food savings are created allowing nutritional security to endure beyond the period of the public works operation. |
| 3 | Enable cash and capital savings build-up and investment | Over a long period of time savings are made and investment opportunities arise leading to a more sustainable livelihood. |
| 4 | Create enduring community economic assets | The wider benefit of the public works programme creates enduring economic assets of use to all to enable greater long term development and income prospects. |

Defining these four levels of EGS impact, assists in conceptualising the extent to which EGS can enhance the productivity of the household and decrease vulnerability to income and other shocks. The minimum requirement would be to attain level one where food or cash is transferred to enable nutritional security. Prolonged public works can enable surplus income (to be used for food purchase at some latter date) and potentially the creation of savings leading to investment. The wider impact of public works involves the construction of social and economic infrastructure, which again provides greater access services.

4.2 Important Implementation Issues

The effectiveness of policy dimensions outlined above depends on the capacities for implementation as well as the basic design of the works programmes themselves. As stated, EGS are public works programmes that provide employment at the same time as building productive assets, thereby minimising the risk of vulnerable households falling below the food security threshold. This section outlines major implementation

issues which need to be taken into consideration when planning the implementation of EGS works themselves.

4.2.1 Initial Planning Considerations

If targeted EGS works are to lead to vulnerability and poverty reduction through the transfer effects and build-up of economic assets, works programmes will need to be implemented in vulnerable areas and target vulnerable households. The normal approach of verifying food security status is through the monitoring of nutritional status and this can be a good proxy indicator, although alone it is insufficient. Poverty, is wider than nutrition and other aspects of human development (including access to social services etc.) are also important. Moreover, as pockets of food insecurity persist even in areas of surplus production and where community wide nutritional indicators show now signs of malnutrition, planners should be careful to adopt a demand driven approach where individuals take the decision to participate, based on their own assessments. Self targeting and equitable access to social protection may be considered a principle of democracy. Accordingly, the following issues will need to be resolved by the institutions planning implementation:

- a) The nature of vulnerability as expressed by the poor, therefore, informing the nature of works to be planned;
- b) The vulnerability status of the area and households so that works can be made available locally;
- c) The periods of greatest labour demand, observed through peak seasonal livelihood stress periods;
- d) The sectors of intervention and potential impact on increasing supply or effective demand;
- e) The scalability of works to respond to increases and decreases in labour demand;
- f) Linkage with ongoing and parallel efforts in area development;
- g) The most appropriate targeting procedure to be adopted;
- h) The most appropriate wage rate and medium (cash or food) for the local market condition; and,
- i) The monitoring procedures applicable to monitor changes in livelihoods status of works participants.

The main points presented above provide an important minimum checklist for planning EGS, however, effective institutional capacity is a *sine qua non* requiring clear guidelines for local level administrations and grassroots organisations to build effective and efficient EGS projects on the ground. These initial planning stages need to be undertaken with the full participation of works participants if the chances for long term sustainability of the project are to be increased. Based on the experience of Ethiopia, Maharashtra and other similar schemes, the inputs required for the project must also be clearly defined and documented. The following formats, or formats of similar types, will therefore need to be utilised in the formulation phase:

- a) EGS works summary sheets (one for each project and detailing the actual works to be undertaken);
- b) A physical target summary sheet;
- c) Labour requirement summary sheet;
- d) Input requirement summary sheet (respecting labour/capital ratios) and a summary of total cost estimate by resource input;
- e) Implementation work plan including agreement for institutional roles and responsibilities;
- f) Resource mobilisation plans by implementing partner;
- g) Input inventories and requisition forms.

Examples of these formats are presented in Appendix 1. The planning process will need to be formalised as much as possible and the institutional capacities for management of labour and all inputs needs to be comprehensively pre-positioned prior to implementation. Details related to the management of the EGS workers also needs to be conducted utilising the following additional formats:

- a) Workers registration sheets (manifest);
- b) Workers attendance sheets;
- c) Formats to measure daily physical accomplishments and work norms;
- d) Payment request (in cash, food, coupon, stamps etc.)
- e) Payroll and coupon issuance sheets;
- f) Physical achievement monitoring reports;
- g) Formats for input and resource mobilisation;
- h) Evaluation report formats.

The detailing of these formats is vital to any EGS/LIPW project. Where information is not readily available it needs to be collected – poor decision making costs lives and provides for inefficient working arrangements.

4.2.2 Selection of EGS Projects

The sectors of intervention summarised under 4.1.5.5 need to be more fully explored in order that a particular project is identified with all the important characteristics of an ideal EGS works project. A major issue here is that all projects are productive in nature and aimed at generating employment and perhaps drought proofing, in the context of the north-east highlands of Ethiopia. This normally means that the project is located within a vulnerable area and that the project sector is identified as one with an observable and priority need, and yet leading to a decrease in the underlying cause of the poverty nexus. Frequently the emphasis such works, given the principle of labour intensity, dictates the nature of the project that can be undertaken and they tend to be road sector or agricultural sector related. However, smaller scale schemes, absorbing fewer labourers, can also be incorporated. These may include social infrastructures including water supply and the construction of health facilities.

An additional issue of importance is the mainstreaming of the project into ongoing development endeavours and that the usual line department follows up, where appropriate, is accorded to the project. Just as targeting the most vulnerable community members assists in reducing vulnerability to food insecurity so does the selecting the most appropriate sector, again, based on the desire to contribute to alleviating the livelihood constraints experienced by the poor themselves. Table 4.4 summarises the main sectors of intervention proposed to guide EGS planners. The table summarises works of suitable labour intensity and highlights the potential livelihood impact on the poorest households.

Table 4.4 Sectors of Intervention under EGS

| Sector | Potential Impact on Food Security |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Integrated Watershed Development | To maintain and increase supply of agricultural staples. |
| Afforestation | To maintain and recover degraded areas so as to increase supply. |
| Water Resource Development | To increase supply and health of vulnerable population |
| Road Construction | Increase market integration between surplus and deficit production areas. |
| School Construction | Increase awareness, literacy etc. |
| Health Facility Construction | Increase access to health facilities thereby reducing morbidity. |
| Others | Largely supply side interventions. |

As purchasing power is stimulated through the transfer of income to workers, the income affects of public works remain a primary social objective. The increase in productivity growth in agricultural production leads to lower food prices, therefore extending entitlements. Market integration (largely rural road infrastructure) assists in the process of increasing the supply of food to deficit areas, where effective demand has been created, narrowing price spreads in the food market and reducing marketing margins staples.

4.2.4 Cash and Food Transfers

Having determined the funding mechanisms, the mode of payment (income transfer) needs to be defined. Clearly a number of options exist here but decisions need to be taken based on what is appropriate for the market conditions (cash or food). In areas where purchasing power is the major problem and observable marketable grain surplus exists on local markets cash should be prioritised. However, in deficit producing areas where supply of food on markets, higher than average cereal price spreads are substantial and market integration between surplus and deficit areas is poor, food payments may be more appropriate. Unfortunately, the impact of food aid on local grain producers will also need to be taken into consideration. Food aid destroys cereal markets. In a relief environment, even if relief is to be provided through EGS, there are three important options to consider:

- a) A direct food transfer (food);
- b) A direct income transfer (cash); or,
- c) A mixture of food and cash.

Cash is preferable to food transfers as it provides purchase power and the power of purchase choice in the hands of the poor. Food aid is often monetised and often receives low exchange prices for other products. Most economists would argue that market failure to supply effective demand is an exceptional case where a real food scarcity might exist. If this is so, then it is appropriate to provide cash. In fact, in many areas affected by significant food shortage, an outflow of food to surrounding areas clearly demonstrates that pull factors dominate in the food security supply and demand equation.

In Ethiopia, most markets contain significant surplus (albeit at high prices) and that cash should be prioritised on most occasions as this supplements the income of households to supplement any production deficit. In many areas, food payments are monetised at such a low price as to almost negate the significance of the wage.

Another significant issue, related to the transfer of food aid though such programmes relates to what can be termed the 'net volume of income transfer' where 50-70 per cent of food aid costs relate to the cost of the Internal Transport, Storage and Housing (ITSH) costs. Cash based programmes make more effective transfer programmes as the larger percentage of the total project costs are transferred to workers in exchange for labour as the transaction costs remain low. Further arguments for providing cash include:

- a) the often limited supply of transport facilities and poorly constructed distribution routes;
- b) pull factors not response factors predominate;
- c) cash helps to boost the local economy, food aid destroys the natural function of markets and contributes towards dependency;
- d) cash payments in exchange for work support the notion of employment and not relief;

Food and cash payment options demand different commitment and disbursement procedures. Food, if imported, can take up to six months to arrive in the area of need and accordingly, a food security reserve is frequently established so as to avoid delays and to pre-position inputs. When such a system is utilised, as is the case in Ethiopia (where as of 2002, 406,000 mt of food are stored in reserves around the country, a loan for repayment of the reserve is provided by any donor making confirmed pledges. However, the cost of such a reserve oscillates between 15 and 30 per cent of the value of the reserve and as all cereals need to be turned over within a maximum rotation of three years, the demand for food aid is often institutionalised.

Food aid is normally pre-positioned in progressively smaller reserves until the final distribution point. The operation requires substantial logistical capacity and is costly and also leads to unwanted delays in distribution. Relief Food Outlets (RFOs) can be used as final distribution points, although the model used in India of 'Fair Price Shops' works well as a public distribution system. In Ethiopia, it is not uncommon for payment to be delayed even up to six months after the work has been conducted.

This demonstrates an extremely inefficient and unaccountable payment system that does not respect workers fundamental rights as laid down by the ILO.

Where cash payments are made it needs to be calculated on the basis of the targeting approach (self targeting requires below market wages to attract low income groups) and rates should be related local market food prices. Cash payments require a lower logistical capacity and can be made on a more timely basis: weekly or daily. An option, which is interesting, is not to make payment in food or cash, but through a coupon system, or as piloted in Bangladesh, a stamp system, which can be cashed at fair price shops providing either grain or cash. This requires a less extensive network of logistics and provides workers with choices for when and how to be paid: cash or food. Such an operation also allows workers to take food based on present market conditions allowing increased profits to be built up.

4.2.5 Integrating EGS with Area Plans

If EGS is being implemented as part of a poverty reduction or disaster preparedness strategy then all relevant line departments and local community organisations need to take shared responsibility for the preparation of works and workers so as to assist in the coordination of different policy measures and programmes. Moreover, the role and participation of local communities needs to be stressed as projects should fit both within strategic and community development plans. Accordingly, the annual and five year development plans need to contain a contingency for EGS, allowing integration and enhancing opportunities for successful coordination.

As already posited, EGS works share both relief and development objectives. However, despite the need to meet the relief objective there should be no compromise on project standards. This is an important principle to uphold as in Ethiopia, EGS works have been afforded lower institutional priority as they are relief and food aid focused. All projects should be pre-planned and fit centrally within the normal annual plans of line departments both sectorally and financially. For this to be effectively put into place EGS resources need to be pre-planned on a multi-annual basis in expectation of EGS workers demands. Should the need develop, additional resources will need to be committed and resources will need to be made available to scale up and down, as labour demand increases or contracts.

4.2.6 The Contingency Plan

All EGS projects are demand driven by their very nature – driven by those who fall below the food security threshold. However, given that fluctuations in programme demand can be both un-programmable (seasonal) and programmable (because of entitlement decline and chronic vulnerability) a shelf of projects need to be drawn up within the framework of a contingency plan to respond to the nature of demand as it arises. The volume of the contingency plan needs to reflect the average year demand for the programme (i.e. sufficient projects for the absorption of labour for one year needs to be developed). The plan however needs to be dynamic in both planning and

response. If a slow or quick onset disaster occurs resources and inputs need to be urgently mobilised and EGS projects works scaled up accordingly. The commencement also includes increasing the labour intensity of ongoing and planned works as well as starting new projects to absorb workers.

The contingency plan will need to be integrated into the development plan of the line departments and specific mandates provided to staff to follow up on planning, implementation and monitoring of such works as is the case in Maharashtra, but not currently in Ethiopia.

4.2.7 Shelf Project Preparation

The contingency plan is an aggregate of EGS works that can be undertaken as, where and when the demand arises. In order for works to be made available shelf projects (projects that are prepared as part of the annual contingency plan but are kept on a shelf ready to be mobilised) need to be prepared by the local responsible line departments. Without such planning, meaningful EGS will be unattainable and projects will be of poor quality.

A shelf of projects should be composed of productive works and indicate a number of variables including labour absorption capacity. A shelf project summary sheet assist in detailing the merits of the intervention and the project can be mobilised when a request for labour has been made and funds are pre-positioned. The minimum range of project variables to be included on the shelf project summary sheet is as follows:

- a) Project location;
- b) Project title;
- c) Responsible implementing agency;
- d) Objectives;
- e) Expected results (service passed on to wider beneficiaries);
- f) Summary of planned physical outputs;
- g) Duration of planned project;
- h) Employment to be generated (calculated in person days);
- i) Summary of resource needs (cash, food, equipment etc.) and total cost;
- j) Arrangements for hand over and follow up;
- k) Risks and assumptions; and,
- l) The date of project formulation.

The shelf project summary sheet is backed up by the detailed project working documents that have been already prepared.

4.2.8 Works Proximity

Wherever possible works should be as close to the work force as is possible. While it is not possible to put a limit on this quite clearly it is burdensome, and therefore counter-productive to request workers to move more than 5 Kms from home to work

and back after a long days work. If works are sited to far away, then transport needs to be provided, as is the case in Maharashtra, and costed under the programme.

4.2.9 Wage Rates and Work Norms

As already suggested the going market rate for the work to be done should be the starting basis for wage rate determination and the applicable wage rate needs to be carefully determined within the local market context. Internationally, on those over 18 years of age are usually accepted on to EGS works to protect against child exploitation. However, the minimum natural wage rate, which is based on the minimum nutritional requirement for an individual engaged in labour intensive works and often cited as 2,200 Kcal or higher per day needs to be maintained as the minimum natural wage. Accordingly, a fine balance between the setting the wage rate and the established work norm needs to be achieved if work is to be based on piece work as is recommended. As stated, wages can be paid in cash, food or a mix of cash and food. The value of the wage rate can be determined by the following key elements among others:

- a) wage rates corresponding to minimum livelihood needs and real food prices i.e. the volume of food required for adequate nutrition; or,
- b) setting the wage rate on the basis of a nutritional standard using the cash value of the resulting food basket and the ongoing wage as a double check.

Wage payments in the form of food are usually calculated on the basis of the minimum wage and tend to be in the order of 12-15 Kg per person per month. Cash wages should therefore relate to local market food prices and should therefore be based on the purchase price for an equivalent purchase of cereals. In practice, of course, as is the case in Ethiopia, individuals are only expected to work 5 days in the month to fulfil their nutritional requirement and this leads to a false understanding of wages and work rates. A five day working week is the proposed standard upon which wages should be established. Individuals should be able to work for as long as resources exist and that they remain interested in doing so. Another concern, is the need not to destroy the natural agricultural labour cycle by offering wages significantly above the natural agricultural wage. Demand should be 'controlled' and targeted through a labour supply and demand model. Often, therefore, works are planned to be implemented in a slack agricultural season.

Wage payments need to be work performance related and work norms are therefore calculated both to encourage labour effectiveness and the logical progression of works in general. Work norms correspond to the period of time required, on average, to achieve a set volume of physical work by an average worker. Work norms are set out to:

- a) enable detailed resource planning prior to implementation;
- b) to assess the productivity of the labour input;

- c) to assist in the contribution of project objectives by neither under or over estimating the task to be completed.

If a work norm is set to high (i.e. the work productivity (yield) is overestimated) this leads to a reduction in wages and workers will either receive a very low wage or eventually they will leave and search for other employment opportunities. If the work norm is too low this may lead to an over payment of wages and encourage too many workers where the scheme is self-targeting. Work norms need to be modified depending on the productivity of the work force and on the sector of works being undertaken. The following key considerations need to be reflected in the planning exercise.

- a) the sector of work and how it is to be organised;
- b) the productivity of the work force which is affected by age, gender, ability etc.;
- c) the supply of labour and motivation and skills in LIPW offered by the work force;
- d) the quality and quantity of available tools and equipment needed to implement works;
- e) the level and competence of the works supervisors; and,
- f) the environment where such work is being conducted.

Work norms, and therefore wages need to be co-ordinated. Achieving an efficient and effective balance between the variables is not an easy task and experience counts. Each activity has its own prescribed work norm and calculating a work norm is therefore a tedious and time consuming task. The role of the supervisor is critical and linkage between policy makers and practitioners needs to be maintained throughout the project period so as to adjust to the changing employment conditions.

Payments need to be made in a timely manner (every week or two) and not settled at the end of the project phase as is often the case for food aid projects. The best option is to provide cash for work, based on known standard work norms, with payment on a weekly basis. The wage cost of the intervention should be calculated in Person Days (PDs) provided.

4.2.10 Work Groups: Communal Productivity Based Remuneration

An estimate of labour demand and productivity is essential for successful EGS programmes. Workers are given tasks to complete and the average task rate should therefore correspond broadly to the work norm set during planning. For EGS related works, three broad forms of productivity-based remuneration are commonly used as follows:

- a) Individual Task Work: An individual may receive a set wage for a given piece of work that is planned to take one day – one days work equals one days pay. This limits the pay to the given rate but allows the worker to finish earlier and

leave the site. When time is valuable to the work, such as at peak agricultural periods, such a system works well. The only major disadvantage of this system is that workers, who may suffer from some form of disability, receive lower wages in real terms. For larger works programmes this form of remuneration work is not usually employed.

- b) Group Task Work: A similar principle to that stated above applies to group work where a group of normally between 10 and 30 workers, depending on the nature of the work, the local work culture and the type and availability of hand tools, is the normal mode for LIPW. The task forces are organised into team leaders, supervisory personnel and workers. Each task force should be 'evenly heterogeneous' as regards group composition (age, gender, skill base etc.) so as not to discriminate.
- c) Piece Work: The worker, or work task force is paid a set amount for each unit of output. Under this system each worker, or task force, decides the productivity of the work and the work period – the greater the productivity – the greater the income generated. Normally piece rates are not employed as this encourages workers to increase productivity two or three fold thus increasing the wages above the minimum rate.

Whichever system is utilised, the use of work norms, wage rates and productivity remuneration assists in planning projected inputs, monitoring inputs and linking to project outputs and increased work site management and organisation.

4.2.11 Works Scalability

Clearly the labour absorption capacity of each works depends upon many factors including the nature of the works undertaken and the demand for EGS by vulnerable groups. Given that the labour component of EGS should be maximised, the absorption variable depends on increasing the labour intensity of ongoing projects and on commencing new programmes in areas where labour demand is high. Labour absorption can be seen both programme and project wide. At the programme level and demand driven programme should possess what is called scalability – i.e. the ability to be able to scale up or down works (absorption) as and when required. A well designed shelf of projects, backed up by resources, assists in achieving this. However, increasing the labour intensity of a particular project involves adjustments in works management and technique and can be achieved by:

- a) Substituting labour for machines where possible;
- b) Accelerating ongoing works programmes;
- c) Increasing the original planned size and coverage of the project to include additional areas and sectoral elements;
- d) Introducing a rotation of shift system into the project to share available work.

While much can be achieved in terms of altering management strategies to absorb additional labour there is a risk that resource limitations may mitigate against this. This would lead to increasing the vulnerability of certain groups and every effort should be made by government to 'guarantee' employment opportunities to all those in need as is the case for the Maharashtra EGS in India. Care should be taken to make sure that where labour demand is high, works have been made available locally capable of absorbing the labour demand. In Ethiopia, lack of planning leads to gratuitous payments when works have not been planned. This undermines the work ethos and creates a disincentive affect in other areas where gratuitous wage payments are not practised.

As a general rule the minimum labour intensity of EGS programmes should not fall below 60 per cent. However, a more valuable approach to EGS would be to maximise the labour intensity of all development projects so as to provide support for livelihoods through increasing purchasing power. Under this approach an increasing labour intensity from even 30 to 40 per cent should also be valued as a contribution to reduce poverty rates.

4.2.1.12 Monitoring Livelihoods

Monitoring, the regular review of progress in implementation, needs to be participatory, involving the task forces and supervisors and focusing on purpose to objective, output to purpose and activity level monitoring. Moreover, monitoring also needs to involve the routine assessment of targeting (for inclusion and exclusion errors), wage rates, work norms, the suitability of wage payment options, the management of the work teams, cost effectiveness of project level activities and the availability of workers amenities such as water and shelter – all from a livelihoods perspective. Such a perspective looks at the effects of EGS on the capital assets of the rural poor. Livelihood monitoring results should also lead to an assessment of the efficiency of the intervention in relation to achieved results and objectives. Monitoring indicators can be divided into input, process, output, effect and impact indicators. Indicators, and their means of verification need to be carefully assessed.

Evaluation, a systematic assessment of the services/benefits provided by the project, and their long term sustainability needs to be undertaken by all stakeholders as a matter of standard practice so that evolutionary responsiveness can be achieved. In order that *ex post* evaluation is provided with detailed information, the means of verification needs to be ascertained through, among other variables, the ongoing collection of baseline data. The voices of works participants are important as they provide a qualitative approach to understanding the impact of the employment on vulnerability and livelihoods.

4.3 Conclusions

This chapter has presented an overview of social protection dimensions, the policy and implementation frameworks for EGS and the basic model used for understanding

the livelihood security of vulnerable groups (the HHM). These positions provide a foundation upon which to begin to evaluate the effectiveness of the Ethiopian EGS programme in meeting its stated objectives. Consideration will be given to the concepts and dimensions outlined above, as summarised below:

- a) The present interest of development partners in social protection and EGS in particular stems from the increasing levels of poverty as a result of economic transition. Economic equality worsened in the 1990s. However, protection measures need to be affordable from a budgeting perspective, in both the short and medium terms – affordability means sustainability. As a concurrent policy, the labour intensity of all development works needs to be increased to provide investments in labour and not purely capital;
- b) Human rights are core principles of democracy and public accountability and these require the GoE to declare a statement of minimum human rights to be upheld by the Government. Effective and efficient social protection measures require a sound policy framework and effective institutions and for appropriate design considerations to be taken into consideration. Such a policy will need to consider alternative transfers to non-abled bodied individuals also deserving of assistance.
- c) Properly designed EGS can reduce both vulnerability and the risk management capabilities of households. Likewise, poorly designed EGS can reduce social cohesion and increase levels of exclusion. At the same time, programmes may increase dependency on aid and not foster sustainable livelihoods;
- d) Policies need to be linked to budgeted resources, channelled through accountable and effective institutions and be based on the needs of the vulnerable households themselves;
- e) The hunger status of households (as determined by the HHM) can be enhanced though self-targeted EGS works where income transfers in cash are maximised and important economic and physical infrastructure built. The aim of reducing vulnerability through enhanced risk management is vital;
- f) EGS works require strong political and organisational support if they are to be effective involving, where possible, a predominance of domestic over international funding. Planning and integration of shelf projects, into a contingency plan is critical if the expansion and contraction of available works is to reflect demand;
- g) Only productive works should be undertaken, based upon self-targeting procedures, accompanied by suitable wage rate determination and labour organisation to be set on a case by case basis reflecting the overall objectives set by the policy framework;

- h) EGS should assist in community development and decentralised planning and implementation strategies and should be mainstreamed within the normal annual planning cycle and budget framework of the line ministries;
- i) Monitoring, evaluation and sustainability issues need to be systematically recorded in order that both the effectiveness and efficiency of welfare and development objectives is enhanced. Public policy dialogue with the poor, public offices listening to the voices of the poor in monitoring and evaluation is vital if workers are to be participants and not inactive beneficiaries.

This chapter has outlined the basic dimensions of social protection policies as well as outlining the main consideration determining well designed EGS works. This chapter has been particularly important as the subject of food security through EGS is still in its infancy and the research has drawn upon hitherto unlinked variables including governance and budgeting, labour rights and livelihood enhancement.

The conclusions reached pave the way for a better defined research methodology to assist in critically evaluating the validity of the research thesis presented in the first chapter. The methodology, will need to be robust enough to reach significant conclusions while at the same time as being flexible enough to respond to the dynamic relationships outlined herein. All future chapters are founded upon the framework presented here.

Finally, and regarding the question of the role of the public sector in designing cost effective social protection measures that provide for a minimum set of human rights at an affordable cost – good policies and programming lead to effective and efficient attainment of social policy objectives.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

5.1 General Research Approach and Structure

Policies are formulated upon and informed by a wide base of experience, often related to the results of different policies in the same or similar contexts. Such policies and policy guidelines are implemented by a host of public and private institutions, all impacting upon implementation. Such a reality calls for a broad base of methods to be used embracing both quantitative and qualitative data collection. In this sense, hard empirical data on implementation is as important as the views expressed by primary stakeholders. Here, quantitative data is data which can be expressed in a numerical form whereas qualitative data is expressed in the form of verbal descriptions rather than numbers.

The research into policy, institutional and implementation aspects of EGS, commenced in 1995 and has been split into different phases related to the collection and analysis of different kinds of data. The initial orientation about social protection was gained through research into policies, strategies and implementation experiences through the collection of literature and through discussions with key informants: largely qualitative data. In conducting field research, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. The integration of a broad spectrum of data into the research findings has therefore been the principle upon which this research is conducted, so as to be representative of a wide range of different perspectives.

Based upon the results of the literature review, and the experiences of coordinating EGS programmes in Ethiopia, a set of inclusive social protection and EGS issues were developed to reflect the totality of EGS related issues and to provide a clear structure for the research itself. Accordingly, the research is structured into two distinct yet interrelated areas as follows: policy and institutional issues and implementation issues. The research design is divided into seven areas (A-G) with policy and institutional elements being covered under areas A to C and research on implementation issues covered under areas D to G as presented below:

Policy and Institutional Issues

- Area A The policy environment.
- Area B The official programme guideline.
- Area C Institutional arrangements.

Implementation Issues

- Area D Programme efficiency and effectiveness.
- Area E Impact on short term relief objectives.
- Area F Impact on creation of long term productivity and livelihoods.
- Area G Overall programme and project sustainability.

Figure 5.1 below presents in greater depth the research areas outlined above related to policy, institutional and implementation results.

Figure 5.1 Division of Policy and Institutional and Implementation Issues

| | | |
|----------|--|--|
| A | REVIEW OF GoE/GoM POLICY AND LEGAL ENVIRONMENTS FOR EGS <i>(National Policy for Disaster Prevention and Management (NPDPM), Food Security Strategy/programmes/Suitable Policy Environment/Mandatory-Voluntary Legal Structures/Objectives/Poverty Alleviation Programmes/Funding and Resource Issues/Linking Relief and Development etc., policy sustainability)</i> | POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES |
| B | OPERATIONAL GUIDELINE REVIEW <i>(Relevance of Guideline/Practicality/Regionalisation/Implementation)</i> | |
| C | INSITUTIONAL AND ORGANISATION RESPONSIBILITIES <i>(Co-ordination/Resource Allocation/Staffing/Contingency Planning Arrangements/Relief Plans/ Targeting and Registration/Shelf Project Preparation)</i> | |
| D | EFFICIENCY, EFFECTIVENESS AND RELEVANCE <i>(Achievement of Results and Objectives (relief and developmental) through Monitoring and evaluation)</i> | IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES |
| E | IMPACT ON SHORT TERM RELIEF NEEDS <i>(Effects of the Project on Employment Needs/Income Nutritional Status)</i> | |
| F | IMPACT OF EGS ON CREATION OF LONG TERM PRODUCTIVITY AND LIVELIHOODS <i>(Effects on Productivity Base and Growth/Entitlements/Vulnerability and on Sustainable Livelihoods)</i> | |
| G | SUSTAINABILITY <i>(Long Term Viability of EGS Programme and Achievement of Objectives)</i> | |

Research areas A, B and C are based upon qualitative indicators such as performance ratings, policy awareness measures, key informant and focal group sessions where as areas D, E, F, and G tend to be driven by both qualitative measures and field based quantitative measurements related to efficiency, effectiveness and impact.

5.1.1 General Methodology⁴⁹

In assessing policies, legal systems, strategies, guidelines, objectives, organisations (local, national and international), communities, people, projects, effectiveness and efficiency, sustainability and livelihoods, a range of methods need to be brought into the research programme. Methods include literature surveys, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, the use of matrices to gauge trends, opinions, and preferences, preference ranking, problem analysis, conducting issues seminars and workshops, structured direct observation, stakeholder analysis, and field based measurement of economic and social infrastructure constructed, days worked and basic income and expenditure models to monitor the impact upon rural livelihoods. Other special methods such as participant observation, combining qualitative and quantitative results and conclusions, policy and institutional and implementation orientations are utilised.

Quantitative data is used only where a high degree of precision is required or where statistical analysis is required. However, in most cases qualitative data was collected to provide a detailed or vivid impression of the issue or characteristic concerned. Consideration about which kind of data was to be collected from the sample population were as follows:

1. The subject matter: Depending on the subject matter (e.g. information on income or household assets, data on EGS works, wage rates, labour days, etc.) can best be presented in numerical form. Whereas, the cultural and political nature of livelihood constraints, the role of women, and attitudes towards EGS policy and practice are more appropriately presented as qualitative data.
2. The data collection method: The collection of quantitative data is based on statistically designed field survey procedures as outlined below whereas the collection of qualitative data relies primarily on detailed observation or interview.
3. The method of data presentation: Qualitative data was, where possible translated into a quantitative form through scaling and the use of percentage calculations. For example, attitudes towards the appropriateness of EGS works and wage payments were grouped into categories which can then be subjected to statistical analysis. Quantitative data was presented in table formats.

The decision to link qualitative and quantitative elements reflects the nature of the poverty dynamic itself. Livelihoods can neither be wholly expressed through

⁴⁹ A methodology is a system of principles and methods used in a particular discipline to achieve a stated end.

quantitative analysis nor qualitative analysis. Poverty, should be measured using both elements. For example, entitlement decline can be measured by both a change in market prices as supplies of cereals and other basic food stuffs decreases as well as by a change in government targeting and ration procedure among many other variables. Likewise, and in order to capture these variables multi-variate analysis must be conducted to allow for both quantitative and qualitative information. Moreover, quite clearly issues such as financing capacities and budget preparation is both a conceptually and numerically derived issue. In the process of conducting this research no attempt has been made to provide a clear division between these polemic research techniques but rather to utilise a mixed bag approach depending on the requirements of the situation. However, as a broad rule the more dominant the policy and institutional research the more qualitative the approach and vice versa. The linking methods approach also allows for the following opportunities to be exploited:

- a) Static data sets can be embellished with qualitative time series data;
- b) Qualitative data mutually enriches the quantitative picture being built up;
- c) The implications of government policies and strategies can be followed through to the community level and results gauged;
- d) Policy, planning and implementation issues emanating from EGS project issues feed into policy level discussion;
- e) The EGS programme can be assessed across the project cycle; and,
- f) Broader more informed recommendations can be made.

The strengths highlighted above allow for a more comprehensive focusing of data to assist in referencing findings within a clear context related to one or more of the key issues such as social protection policies or wage rates for example. The overall strategy for linking policy and institutional methodologies can be viewed broadly in the following chronology:

- a) Drawing of conceptual framework and division of policy and institutional and implementation elements;
- b) Establishment of research questions;
- c) Development of a sampling plan and strategy and research processes;
- d) Identify primary and secondary stakeholders etc.;
- e) Data and information collection, coding and processing;
- f) Interim analysis of research findings;
- g) Build descriptive research displays;
- h) Write-up within and across case reports for implementation issues;
- i) Draw and verify conclusions;
- j) Conclusion revision after triangulation methods;
- k) Draft Reports and focus on implications for theory.

The approach has been to build a clear picture of the policy and strategy environment within which to look at the success of livelihood transfers targeted through EGS. Initially, the policy and institutional elements led the process, and were then complimented with field based data and verification. The process of drawing and

verifying conclusions, which involved further identifying patterns and themes, partitioning variables etc. was conducted.

Linkage of issues is not complicated but rather natural. For example, if the NPDPM stipulates a wage payment of 3 Kg per person per day and field based results demonstrate a variable payment system depending on geographical focus and resource limitations, contrasts and conclusions can easily be drawn. Another example, is the policy preference for food based transfers which is not completely supported by waged labourers who in many cases would prefer cash payments. This strategy has been utilised throughout the research process.

Figure 5.2 Contextual Relationships and Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

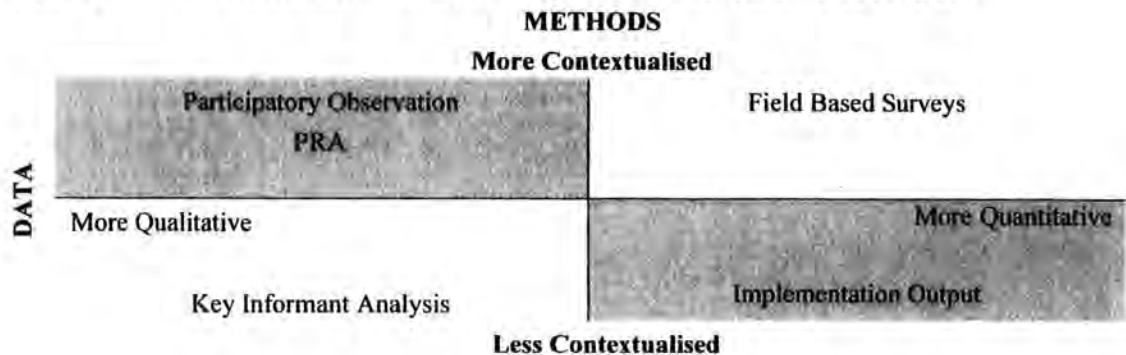
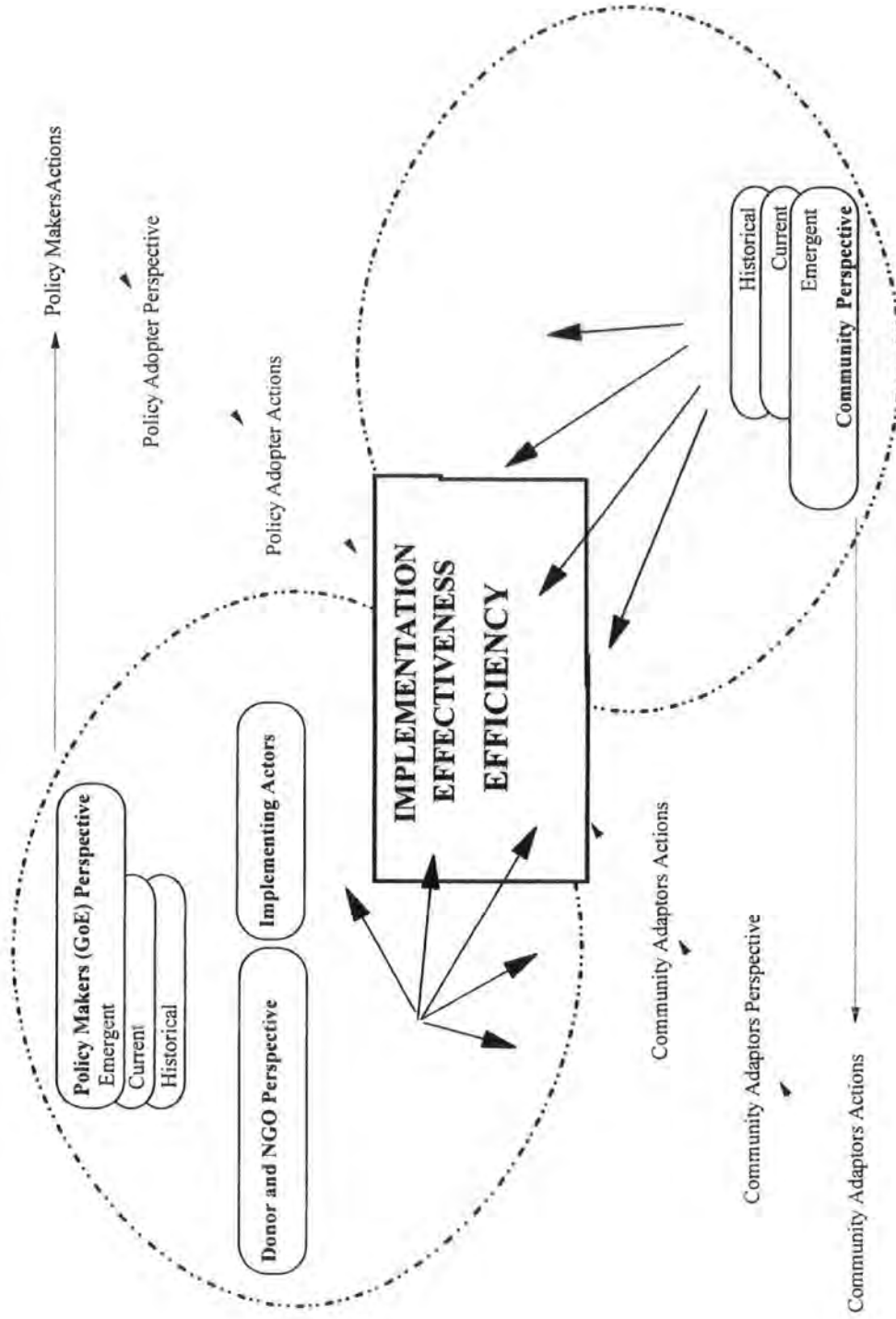


Figure 5.2 above provides a visual overview of how the different research axis related to different research contextual elements. Policy and institutional elements involve both qualitative and quantitative research elements. However, no attempt has been made to locate all research elements on the diagram as the issues are too numerous.

Figure 5.3 below overviews the conceptual framework for assessing the attainment of social protection goals. The framework provides for two distinct yet interconnected view points: secondary and primary stakeholders. On one side, policy makers (secondary stakeholders), in coordination with the international community and implementing agencies construct the policy framework and associated measures. The policy is driven from historical, current and emerging policy trends and experiences. These lead into actions (formal policy statements) are affected by the policy adapters perspective and associated actions. The adaptation process affects the effectiveness of implementation.

On the side, primary stakeholders (the community involved in EGS) have experienced social protection through EGS based on historical, current and emerging trends and practices. Again community adaptation of roles and responsibilities in the planning and implementation of EGS affect the actions and again the overall effectiveness of implementation. The social protection policy becomes practice in the hands of those involved in the programme at the grassroots level.

Figure 5.3 Causes of Social Protection Effectiveness and Efficiency



5.1.2 Action Research and Inferential Learning

Much of the research is action orientated, thinking and learning in new contexts involving experimental approaches. The field visits to Amhara, Tigray and Maharashtra were all action and learning oriented. Visiting projects with officials, interviewing local communities and local administrations, in a wide variety of conditions and situations.

In many cases inferential methods have been used to investigate questions, models and hypotheses. Many of the findings from the inferential methods used extend beyond the immediate data itself. For example, the researcher infers from questionnaire work with different sample groups what a wider community or line department may think. Such an approach, allows judgements to be made on the overall level of probability and to draw conclusion about general conditions with the system. The researcher has linked the inferential analyses to specific research areas (A-G) or the overall hypothesis that were raised early on in the research.

5.1.3 Language

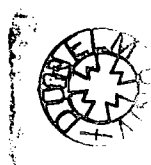
There are over 70 languages in Ethiopia and many dialects. Although Amharic and English dominate as working languages for Government officials at the federal level, in Amhara, Amharic is spoken at both community and administration levels and in Tigray, Tigrinya is the official regional language. The Researcher learnt basic conversational Tigrinya for his research in Tigray.

All official regional federal documents are written in Amharic and regional documents in local languages. This makes the use of official documents for research very difficult and puts much information beyond the reach of the researcher. In many cases, the researcher paid for documents to be translated, including over 100 pages of famine related poetry, only to find that the material was less useful than expected.

Language is also a barrier when discussing with local community involved in public works and during the research, my colleagues at the EC and Relief Society of Tigray (REST) provided literal translation. While not without complications, the problems of language were largely overcome.

5.1.4 Technical and Managerial Design Issues

The research has been conducted independently, yet with the active support of both the Government of Ethiopia and the European Commission and has been based upon direct observation and measurement through action research. The research design is largely quasi experimental utilising multiple approaches to measure the relevance, effectiveness and efficiency of social protection through EGS. Randomised experimentation was used to provide a stronger understanding of the causal effects of different policy, institutional or implementation measures.



Technical issues related to the funding of the research, authorisation for field visits to Woreda, Zonal, regional administrations, and transport arrangements have been treated in a flexible way so as to maximise the support provided through the very nature of my employment contract as co-ordinator of the EU EGS programme in Ethiopia. Arrangements for the two study visits to Maharashtra were made through the EC and Indian Embassy in Ethiopia, as well as through the Planning department in Maharashtra State. Accommodation and field visits in Maharashtra were organised by the GoM Planning Department.

5.1.5 Cross National Comparative Research

In focusing on the Ethiopian programme it was found to be desirable to seek reference to other in country and international experiences so as to build a stronger more robust comparative analysis and to seek verification of findings and conclusions. Therefore, the Ethiopian EGS was contrasted with the Maharashtra programme which formed the basis for the initial appraisal and planning of the Ethiopian programme. The researcher lead two study visits of over 50 senior regional and federal officials from Amhara, Tigray, Oromia and Southern regions and Addis Ababa to India on an exchange programme/study visit to critically assess the Maharashtra programme and to contrast the experience within Ethiopia. The study visits were coordinated by the researcher and supported by the Minister for EGS in Maharashtra. In addition, to the international comparative work, both Amhara and Tigray regional programmes have also been contrasted to highlight regional differences in planning and implementation of EGS, despite the same policy framework. The objective has been to assess variations born out of differing policy and institutional environments the implications for efficiency and effectiveness in affording social protection.

5.1.6 Criteria for the Selection of Sample Sites

In selecting the sampling frame (Woredas, EGS projects for evaluation and local community groups as key informants) 'multi-stage sampling' methods were used. Woredas were chosen by the researcher and regional officials using 'cluster area random sampling' but only of Woredas currently implementing EGS works. 'Stratified random sampling' was used to divide the research communities and officials into relatively homogenous groups (EGS workers, local government officials, federal policy advisors etc.) after which, random samples of each sub-group were taken. However, in many cases, as the support of the Government was needed, sample areas and projects were also selected by the Government as sites of varying quality and impact in implementing EGS. Maharashtra was selected purely because of its prominence as the most established EGS programme in the World.

In researching policy and institutional issues, the following criteria have been developed for selecting research areas (levels).

- Selection of Ethiopia based on its history of famine, levels of chronic vulnerability and livelihood decline and on the presence of a large social protection programme;
- One additional country programme so as to provide a comparative assessment of the policy environment, strategy, programme and related institutional areas. The contrasting country programme needs to have an international reputation on the planning of EGS for poverty alleviation; and,
- The programme objectives must promote social protection through employment as part of a wider poverty reduction programme.

Based on these criteria both Ethiopia and Maharashtra State EGS programmes have been selected for research in relation to policy and legal environment, EGS operational guidelines and organisational structures. Table 5.1 below presents a summary of the research sites, institutional responsibilities, the number of programmes and projects included, whether the EGS projects included payment in cash or kind and nature of the research activities.

Table 5.1 Policy and Institutional Research Areas

| EGS Site | Project | Administrative Institution | Number of Projects | Food/Cash Payments | Activities |
|-------------|---------|---|--------------------|--------------------|--|
| Ethiopia | | | | | |
| Federal | | DPPC/MEDAC | - | Food/Cash | Policy Support, guidelines and programmes, organisational structures, resources, staffing, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation |
| Amhara | | DPPC, | 15 | Food | |
| Tigray | | Food Security Units | 22 | Cash | |
| | | Line Departments International Orgs, REST | | | |
| India | | | | | |
| Maharashtra | | Planning Bureau Districts of | 20 | Cash | As above but visits to Mumbai, Ahemednagar, Nashik, Aurangabad |

In researching implementation areas for the evaluation of field level elements the following criteria have been set.

- Selection of EGS sites (Woredas) within Ethiopia and districts of Maharashtra that have benefited from past or ongoing EGS works;
- Programmes of work have been focused on both providing short term employment and productive asset creation based on the objectives outlined in Chapter 4 as follows: temporary, gainful and productive employment to vulnerable groups, contributing to a reduction in livelihood risk factors and resilience to disaster through a build up of community based economic assets and to reinforce the work ethos of gratuitous relief beneficiaries.
- EGS payments have been made in food and in cash for an additional comparison of livelihood impact.

Based on these criteria, Table 5.2 overviews the EGS sites selected within the research areas already detailed in Chapter 2.

Table 5.2 Implementation Research Areas

| EGS Site (Woreda) | Project | Administrative Institution | Number of Projects | Food (F)/Cash (C) Payments | Activities |
|---------------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Amhara National Regional State | | | | | |
| Makdella | | SCF (UK)/ISP | 7 | Food | SWC, Roads |
| Belessa | | WFP | 33 | Food | SWC |
| Tigray National Regional State | | | | | |
| Regional | | REST | 7 | Food | SWC/Micro-dams |
| Tsada Amba | | TNRS/EC | 15 | Cash | IMWD |
| Maharashtra | | | | | |
| Ahemad Nagar | | Planning, MoA | 21 | Cash | Watershed |
| Nashik | | MoRR and | | | Development |
| Aurangabad | | Horticultural | | | Water supplies |
| | | Department | | | Roads |
| | | | | | Soil conservation |
| | | | 83 | F(3) C(2) | |

The selected project research areas benefit from a number of evaluations conducted by government bureaus, local NGOs and international organisations.

5.1.7 Criteria for the Selection of Sample Population

Within each sample site, respondents were sampled using a number of different methods depending upon the nature of the situation and the specific objective at hand. The following three main methods were used, depending on the type of information required:

- random sampling was selected totally randomly, without any prior knowledge or consideration of particular characteristics (e.g. This was used mostly in regional administrations and for EGS works participants);
- stratified random sampling was selected by dividing the population into categories on the basis of the seven key research areas and then selecting a random sample from each category; and
- purposive sampling was selected on the basis of one or more predetermined characteristics (this was used in Maharashtra, with key federal officials and with officials from donor organisations and regional administrations).

In all cases care was taken to see that the sample size was large enough to provide data which is statistically representative of the population as a whole. The minimum sample size used here was 10 per cent of the sample population and frequently was as high as 100 per cent, when it came to senior government officials.

Sample household surveys were used for the basis of selecting a stratified random sample of household undertaking EGS, each being interviewed in more detail later. The samples were stratified based on the results of wealth ranking using PRA methods and the HHM developed by the researcher and presented in Chapter 4.

5.2 Methods

The four key principles upon which poverty related research methods should be selected include cost effectiveness (with time as a major cost), validity, appropriate precision and ownership, participation and empowerment. These core principles have led to the selection of the methods.

5.2.1 Secondary Data

Given that research is both time consuming and expensive, the use of secondary information in the research process is vital. 'Standing on the shoulders' of researchers that have gone before allows an opportunity to progress beyond the results of previous research and to build upon lessons learned. The collection of secondary information has been used in all areas of research wherever it has been available.

Evaluation Reports: The use of literature in the research has been applied wherever suitable and accessible literature exists. Much of the literature has been 'grey' literature (project concept notes, memorandums, official and unofficial communication etc.) and on many occasions, confidential internal notes of the EC. These have been used for information only and are not quoted anywhere.

In conducting detailed research on EGS the opportunity has been taken to benefit from previous evaluation reports from the EC, WFP, SCF (UK)/CIDA, SOS Sahel, Farm Africa, LWF, DPPC and the regional governments. This saves, time, money and adds to the diversity of research inputs. Evaluation reports have been used to cross reference both policy and institutional evaluation conclusions and recommendations. The method used has been to summarise conclusions and lessons learned on planning boards and after grouping information of similar content. For example, evaluation reports providing information on the value of different wage rates clearly assists in building up a picture of wage payment diversity. Evaluation reports have been extensively used to supplement the primary information collected in this research.

Field Survey Reports: EGS is a community based field activity and impacts, both relief and developmental, need to be measured at that level. As part of the researchers daily work with the European Commission many field survey reports have been generated while monitoring EGS projects. The method used involves the participation of all relevant stakeholders at a project level involved as EGS workers and programme delivery support agents, in measuring input, process and impact indicators. Over 20 field survey reports have been generated and used to compliment other research methods.

Technical Reviews: The quality of EGS programme implementation, for activities such as soil and water conservation, roads, irrigation etc. needs to be monitored and evaluated. Accordingly, technical reviews have been conducted on these elements

both independently by the researcher and as part of multi-disciplinary teams. The impact and sustainability issues were assessed using technical reviews of asset creation and employment generation.

5.2.2 Survey Work

Surveys, the main method in applied social research, were singularly the most important method of measurement. These methods yielded primary rather than secondary data as both questionnaires and interviews were widely used over the research period. These included formal questionnaires to Government officials, key informants discussions with community members and EGS workers, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with multi-disciplinary groups. In addition, one to one discussion with Ministers and presidential advisors in Ethiopia and Maharashtra was also conducted.

In assessing the most appropriate method for each sample group, a range of questions were asked as presented in Appendix 2. These focused on the different types of questions; decisions about question content and wording; decisions about response format. The following section provides a summary of the main survey methods used and the statistical analysis of results however, invariably, results were expressed in percentages. This quick and easy method of expressing preference provides an easy way of proving where consensus on certain ideas exists, and where it does not.

Focus Group Discussions: This method involves the formation of focal groups for discussion related to specific aspects of social protection and EGS. The focal groups are free to discuss issues in relation to trigger questions and issues provided by the researcher. The method allows qualitative information to be collected and the triangulation of findings from previous research discussions.

Key Informant Interviews: Key informants interviews provide a way to target specific questions, and to gain informed opinions, from qualified stakeholders working at different levels within the EGS programme. Such interviews were conducted with community members involved in EGS and with key line department staff from the Regional Councils of the President, Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission, Ministry of Economic Development and Co-operation, Bureaus of Agriculture, Rural Roads Authorities, Sustainable Agriculture and Environment Commission, NGO Country Representatives and planning staff. A list of key informants is presented in Appendix 3 including those in Ethiopia and Maharashtra.

Research Questionnaires: Answers can only be found once questions have been raised. Questionnaires are a standard methodological tool used on socio-economic research as it allows clearly bounded questions to be targeted to key informants. Two questionnaires have been developed. The first covers questions on all issues identified and the second is a field based questionnaire for assessing the different projects (appendix 4). The challenge is to develop questions that do not lead key informants to

make particular responses (leading questions) however, on the other hand questions should have a clear purpose and respondent answers should be clearly documented. For field based questionnaires interpreters have been used. An illustration of the use of questionnaires is in assessing various aspects related to the implementation of EGS projects. A lot of the information provided on policy and institutions came from formal structured questionnaires.

The sample group ranged from 50 to 100 for questionnaires. Each respondent was provided with a 'yes' or 'no' box to check as well as a choice not to answer the question. The total number of responses were tabulated as numbers of respondents stating yes or no to certain preferences and each were calculated as a percentage of the total sample.

Semi-Structured Interviews: Thoughts run in processes and accordingly, key informant interviews need to be conducted in a flexible way that allows new leads to be explored. Accordingly, interviews have been largely 'semi-structured' around the research questionnaires detailed in Appendix 4. This has allowed for diversity of opinion within a predetermined research structure to be gained simultaneously.

Structured Direct Observation: Information gathered from research needs to be structured to allow for maximum efficiency in drawing conclusions and in highlighting trends and clustering of data. This method has been applied to both workshops, where the broad agenda has been fixed, although areas of other business could also be raised, and in conducting field based observations related to the organisation of working groups or selection of works for example. In fact, the isolation of clearly distinguishable research areas (A-G) provides a structure within which to observe at different levels.

5.2.3 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) is a label given to a growing number of participatory approaches and methods emphasising local knowledge so as to enable local people to make their own appraisal, analysis, and plans, for example, for EGS works. PRA uses group animation and exercises to facilitate information sharing, analysis, and action among stakeholders. PRA concerns the behaviour and attitudes of outsider researchers and including taking time to understand the livelihood constraints of everyday peoples lives in rural areas. The method requires 'handing over the stick' and being self-critically aware of the context of peoples lives. The sequencing of participatory and especially visual methods is important and evidence has shown show the high validity and reliability of information shared by local people from PRA compared with data from more traditional methods.

Preference Ranking: A preference matrix is a tool that allows the qualitative comparison of very different things. Either by some kind of voting, or through discussion and consensus, informants can generate a simple list of preferences or choices. Understanding stakeholder preferences for various policy and

implementation factors is a key part of any research. Stakeholders were asked to rank, highest to lowest priority, factors such as policy issues, targeting and payment options, effectiveness, efficiency, relevance and impact. This method is particularly useful once aggregate preference is tabulated and major areas of consensus on problems, activities, recommendations etc. can clearly be displayed.

Problem Analysis: Research directions are gained through the identification, by stakeholders, of key problems related to specific areas of concern. Underlying sources are also analysed. Problem analysis sessions (reviews and evaluations) were used at field and organisational levels to stimulate discussion and identify key areas where further research needed to be conducted. Clearly different groups interpret problems different ways. All elements benefited from problem analysis. Identified problems were then further examined and preference ranking led to prioritisation. The statistical methods are simple yet effective. Each respondent are asked to rank a range of problems from 1 to 10. Zero represents no problem and 10 the highest level of problem encountered in that particular area. The respondents problem rankings were summed and then divided by the number of respondents to take the average ranking for each question asked. The results were displayed running from highest to lowest problem for each set of issues making a very graphic picture of concerns.

The following scales were used to articulate preferences or grade problems:

| Numerical Value | Definition |
|-----------------|---|
| 1 | Equally important or preferred |
| 3 | Slightly more important or preferred |
| 5 | Strongly more important or preferred |
| 7 | Very strongly more important or preferred |
| 9 | Extremely more important or preferred |
| 2,4,6,8 | Intermediate values to reflect compromise |

Wealth Ranking: Also known as wellbeing ranking or vulnerability analysis, is a technique used for the rapid collection and analysis of specific data on social stratification at the community level. Wealth ranking is a visual tool that minimises the literacy and language differences of participants as they consider factors such as ownership of livelihood assets, relative classifications of wealth in a given context related to the productive unit, the relationship of the productive unit to locally powerful people, availability of labour through EGS, and indebtedness.

As EGS should be targeted to the most vulnerable unemployed or underemployed groups of society. With administrative targeting there is a tendency to have both errors of exclusion and inclusion. Moreover, it is primarily the EGS participants themselves that can best judge their income status and in fact whether some richer groups are taking advantage of the EGS and poorer groups excluded. Wealth ranking involves taking stratified sample households or individuals as well as non-participants and assessing the value of different capital assets, labour and stocks for example (usually expressed in Ethiopia in terms of oxen and livestock ownership, labour, land etc.). The results are used to determine whether certain groups of higher capability are

provided work where as more destitute groups are not provided with opportunities to gain wages through EGS. The results are related to the HHM outlined in Chapter 4.

Wealth ranking is usually used to rank wealth across a whole community but in this research the technique is used to determine the different income categories of those working on EGS works only. When this is related to the community wealth ranking results it provides a useful proxy indicator for vulnerability targeting.

Triangulation: PRA works with qualitative data. To ensure that information is valid and reliable, PRA teams follow the rule of thumb that at least three sources must be consulted or techniques must be used to investigate the same topics. Corroboration of research information, leading to a confidence level, can be assisted through use of the standard method of triangulation. Triangulation allows the researcher to cross check data and information. For example, in ascertaining wage payments, both government officials and EGS employees have been asked identical questions. Where similar results are registered with different stakeholders the degree of confidence is increased. However, where stakeholders report different values and information, further research is needed to identify the underlying reasons.

5.2.4 Project Planning and Impact Measurement Methods

Logical Framework (LOGframe) Planning: In planning EGS interventions, the identification of key problems, underlying sources, activities, results and overall objectives are of vital importance. An established method for such developmental research is referred to as the Logical Framework Planning, also known as '*Zielorientierte Projektplanun*', (ZOPP) which has become the de facto standard for International Development project design. This method has been used in planning sessions with stakeholders, to determine preconditions, costs, means, activities, results, purposes and overall objectives for the EGS programmes in Amhara and Tigray regions. LOGframe is a process that relies heavily on two particular techniques - matrix building and stakeholder workshops - to encourage participatory planning and management of development work. The approach enables a group of stakeholders to create a Logical Framework or LOGframe, to provide in depth analysis of project objectives, outputs, and activities. The PPM results from stakeholder workshops that are scheduled through the life of a project to encourage brainstorming, strategising, information gathering, and consensus building among stakeholders.

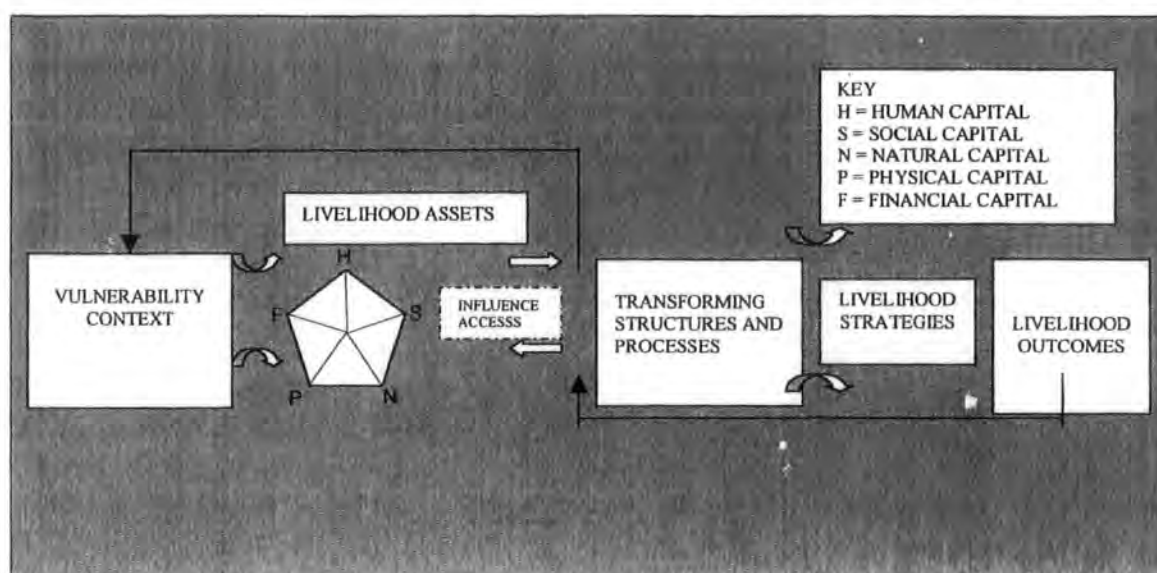
Output to Purpose Review (OPR): An OPR is a specific intervention focused primarily on a forward look at the emerging impact of an intervention at purpose level and at the related interactions with the local development process. OPRs are used to ensure that EGS programme funds are used effectively and efficiently, within the agreed time frame and budget and that a continuous cycle of learning and quality control, both during specific projects and into new projects, is guaranteed. The OPRs allowed practical issues to be researched at a field and secondary stakeholder level.

The OPRs were the main method by which the physical achievements of EGS were also quantified in terms of construction of economic and physical infrastructure. The numbers of seedlings planted, area conserved through physical conservation measures, the overall productivity of dam structures and the impact on local markets etc. the following calculation methods have been used for the OPRs:

- (a) The Generation of labour days with Food Based Wages: As food aid was used in many public works projects, calculations for labour were as follows: Each labour day generates 2.5 Kg of grain. Accordingly as 1 mt = 1,000 Kgs each 1 mt generates some days of employment. Some projects paid wages of 3 Kg per person day and calculations made reflect these wage payment differences.
- (b) The generation of labour days with Cash Based Wages: Wages of 3-4 Ethiopian Birr (ETB) (€0.34 – €0.45) are paid in exchange for a days labour. The number of days of employment generated equals the is derived from the work manifests held on site and the quantity of piece work done per individual.
- (c) The Value of food Aid: The value of food aid is broadly calculated on the basis of €250 per mt including the cost of grain, international storage and housing. However, the cost of delivery to food aid distribution points is unknown and not standardised as many variables such as distance effect the cost of transport.
- (d) Calculating labour days for some basic infrastructure outputs: The construction of:
 - rural roads is based on the calculation of 2,000 Person Days (PDs)/Km on average for average conditions;
 - stone bunds is calculated on the basis of 150 PD/km;
 - soil bunds at 70 PD/km;
 - average size earth dams at 120,000 PD/unit;
 - spring development at 1,700 PD/unit.

Livelihood Analysis: Livelihood analysis is the systematic assessment of livelihood assets and capabilities. Livelihood analysis methods were developed by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and Institute of Development Studies with the support from the UK DFID. The method involves exploring the vulnerability context of rural livelihoods (trends, shocks and culture) and its relation to the formation of five groups of capital assets (natural, human, financial, physical and social assets). The method involves assessing the change in capital asset base within the new set of transforming structures and process, for example provided under EGS. The structures and processes, as well as access to assets allows households to build specific livelihood strategies (natural resource, non-natural resource based and migratory). All of these elements lead to livelihood outcomes that may be positive or negative. The method involves detailed analysis of the livelihood asset base of individual groups and how this changes over time. It also presents a clear picture of the livelihood threats and opportunities. Such analysis builds a picture of partnerships and capital formation as well as the effectiveness, resilience and robustness of livelihoods. The overall model is presented in Figure 5.4 below.

Figure 5.4 Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID (1998)

5.2.5 Matrices

Analytical matrices have been used to define and refine conceptual problems across all elements although particularly on policy and institutional issues. The method allows informants to critically analyse, assess and review issues such as targeting, wage payment options, policy options and alternative ways of EGS design. For example matrices have been used in focus group discussions to assist in defining significant policy and institutional elements for programme planning on EGS. A matrix of perceived institutional responsibilities where the official role of institutions in the planning and implementation of EGS have been presented as a framework are also provided. Different respondents tick boxes related to specific roles as they perceive them to be. The total number of ticks are aggregated together into a meta matrix where common misconceptions regarding roles can be clearly seen

In order to cross relate important information and data variables ordered matrices are invaluable. A matrix is essentially the crossing of two lists, set up as rows and columns. Matrices have been used all in areas of research although in particular of focusing on organisational responsibilities in the implementation of the EGS programme. Matrices showing activities to be covered on the column and organisations on the top row are useful ways of checking how well informed project staff are of organisational responsibilities for example. Many different variations have been developed for EGS as detailed in Appendix 6.

5.2.6 Cross National Comparative Research

Cross-national comparative research and analysis was used in order to clearly differentiate between different programme strengths, weakness, opportunities and

threats as perceived by various stakeholders as well as the relevance, effectiveness and efficiency of EGS including impacts on short and long term employment needs and on sustainability. Comparative research methods have long been used in cross-cultural studies to identify, analyse and explain similarities and differences across societies. This method was extensively used on the comparison between the Maharashtra and Ethiopian EGS programmes through two, two-month study visits to Maharashtra, involving two 3 day workshops and seminars with over 50 professional staff from Ethiopia and India (all organised by the researcher). The comparisons were made collectively made by the focal groups and reflect the broad consensus of informed opinion.

5.2.7 Special Methods

In addition to the research methods outlined above the following special methodological techniques and additions have been incorporated into the research methodology.

Participant Observation: Participant observation is a fieldwork technique used by anthropologists and sociologists to collect qualitative and quantitative data that leads to an in depth understanding of peoples' practices, motivations, and attitudes. The term 'participant observation' is used to refer to the collection of data by people who are actively involved in a situation or an area in a capacity other than data collection. The researcher was employed as a food security advisor to the EC and DFID and responsible for the coordination of EGS programmes in Amhara and Tigray. Consequently, this method is a relatively economic means of data collection and is, therefore used along with the PRA techniques outlined above.

Participant observation entails investigating the project background, studying the general characteristics of a beneficiary population, and living for an extended period among beneficiaries, during which interviews, observations, and analyses are recorded and discussed. A major challenge of research is the relationship formed with both primary and secondary stakeholders. Normally, researchers are external to the internal organisational dynamic and gaining acceptance, which is needed in order to receive less biased information, is often difficult. However, during the entire period of this research I have been an active participant at both policy and field level in the broad area of food security in Ethiopia although in particular on EGS programmes. A good example of the advantage of such a method was the ability to be able to co-ordinate a study visit to India with senior Ethiopian government officials for 10 days to discuss, experience and conclude on what can be learned from the India programme. Such a situation rarely arises in doctoral research unless significant funding has been made available.

Participant observation differs from 'structured direct observation' in that it requires greater time, focuses on aspects of social and cultural phenomenon rather than on the physical environment and requires empathy to become to some extent, a part of the community. I have worked in Ethiopia for five years and regularly spent periods with

local communities. In addition, my daily work for both the European Commission and British Department for International Development has enabled me to gain greater insight into community level administrations and causes of household food insecurity.

Personal Case Studies: Macro level research tends not to present the face of human experience although clearly people are at the centre of a programme such as EGS. In the area of practical research into relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability personal case studies of workers involved in the EGS programme are presented relating to the particular issue. The information was collected from key informant interviews in the EGS research areas. Participants of different gender (sex, age, ability etc.) have been included. Illustrations include personal case studies of women headed households involved in EGS. All case studies are boxed.

Combined Quantitative and Qualitative Research: In this research both quantitative and qualitative methods have been combined to provide a more embracing analytical framework than any singular approach to developmental research. Both methodological approaches possess different characteristic ways of observing poverty. For example, the philosophical underpinning of quantitative research hinges upon the notion of positivism and a single measurable reality whereas the qualitative approach rejects the position taken by the positive paradigm by claiming multiple realities. In addition, the quantitative approach tends to decrease sampling error but is prone to more non-sampling error whereas the opposite remains true for qualitative research. The aim is to merge the findings of both approaches into one set of policy and practice conclusions and recommendations.

Causal Networks/Chains: Problems, and their underlying sources, are both directly and indirectly connected. For example, poor financial arrangements for project planning affect the quality of community based plans drawn up. Accordingly, causal networks/chains have been used, in a graphic format, to focus on causal source and effect links between qualitative and quantitative variables. The advantage of this method is that it allows diverse opinions and experiences to be documented and then aggregated together to form models of cause and effect. An example of chain analysis is provided in Appendix 7.

5.3 Method Limitations

The chosen research design, sample frame, sampling techniques and methods used demonstrate particular kinds of limitation in different contexts.

Primary and Secondary Data Collection: Literature provides both information and knowledge on a specific research issue and allows a conceptually organised synthesis of the results on social protection. However, often the literature is too broad and relates to the general research frame and less to the specific nature of the research being undertaken. As information must be carefully organised and related to the thesis or research questions, it is important to primarily use information relating directly to the subject matter in question. Caution must be taken not to accept all research

findings, not to continue bias, not to take models for granted as being true representations of reality. Good research on social protection and EGS in Ethiopia is rare. The conceptual framework therefore remains somewhat experimental.

Survey Work: Surveys can be problematic where different languages and cultures are concerned particularly where the research subject is driven by specific terminology and where the sample groups are often illiterate. When sample surveys are conducted many important limitations need to be taken into consideration. For example, can reliable respondents be found, are the respondents representative? What types of questions can be asked and will they be too complex? There is a danger that responses will be lengthy and often broader than the question itself. Care must be taken that the question is not a leading question, therefore creating bias in the answer. There are also concerns that the sample sites and sample populations are duly representative of the wider picture. This is difficult to prove.

Interviews are both the most challenging and rewarding forms of measurement. They require a personal sensitivity and adaptability as well as the ability to stay within the bounds of the designed research frame. The interviewer's role is complex and multifaceted leading to the possibility of misrepresentation. Often, an answer may be given where the true reason is concealed. Other limitations may include the use of an inadequate frame, a poorly designed questionnaire, recording and measurement errors and non-response problems.

Participatory Rural Appraisal Techniques: PAR involves working with communities in the research context to assist them in defining their specific livelihood problems. However, as PRA provides largely qualitative information in a specific cultural context it is vital that triangulation of results is conducted so that bias (originating for example from different gender roles or hierarchies) is minimised. PRA needs to be used in conjunction with literature about the local economy to provide a framework for thinking. In Ethiopia, such documentation was not always available. PRS clearly shows conflicts of interest although identification and analysis of livelihood problems is a very personal affair and stratifying sample groups is often challenging. Problem grading and wealth ranking exercises require good analytical skills and a sound knowledge of the local economy. As PRA requires a multi-disciplinary team, the costs and time needed are significant. Care must be taken not to misrepresent, misunderstand, misinterpret results.

Field Measurement Methods: Most of the field methods used are evaluative, and based on standardised methods. The success of the logical framework approach, although widely accepted as a standard rural development planning tool, depends on the ability to select appropriate programme objectives and monitoring indicators for overall performance. In many case, selecting indicators relating to livelihoods requires information that is not available in the field. The logical framework is a planning approach. The OPR however, uses the planning matrix (Log frame) and assess the achievements of the project in meeting its stated objectives. For EGS works,

limitations exist as the range of outputs contributing towards meeting objectives is wide and involves livelihood indicators, many of which remain difficult to attain.

The field methods employed, although particularly the livelihoods analysis is a time consuming and complicated procedure. Assessing the livelihood impact of EGS works requires a good base line information, ideally using household income, consumption and expenditure data over the life of the project. Where this is not available, proxy indicators such as access to food are used to build up a stronger picture. In addition, external variables to EGS also impact upon livelihoods making the overall impact on capital assets difficult to assess.

Measuring the construction of economic and physical infrastructure is difficult and relies heavily on estimates of structures constructed (i.e.. Kms of terracing). The efficiency measures used in the calculations remain relative between projects and are affected by different conditions.

Matrices: The standard logical framework matrices and conceptual matrices differ in their limitations. The logical framework tends to be quite generic and views projects through inputs and outputs, rather than people and processes. It does not represent changes in livelihoods well and often become an administrative rather than a transformatory planning tool. Matrices in general are good at representing trends, themes and preferences but again, they often oversimplify the complexity of the issues involved.

Special Methods: Participatory observation is an important method in action research although the relationship with different stakeholders can impact on the nature of the observation itself. For example, attending a meeting to set policy objectives with Government officials, forces the conversation to be in English, and increases the levels of diplomacy in relationships. This does not always assist in understanding the true picture of events and institutional processes.

Cross-national comparative research, by its very nature, demands greater compromises in methods than a single-country focus. Whatever the methods used, research that crosses national boundaries increasingly takes account of socio-cultural settings. In conducting such research, problems arise in managing and funding cross-national projects, in gaining access to comparable data sets and in achieving agreement over conceptual and functional equivalence and research parameters. Attempts to find solutions to these problems involve negotiation and compromise and a sound knowledge of different national contexts.

Combining qualitative and quantitative data requires judgement about the relative value and weight to be given to different kinds of information. The statistical relevance of each information set also needs to be carefully weighed, which is often more complicated with qualitative information related to opinions, perceived trends and changes in livelihoods.

5.4 Procedure

The division of policy, institutional and implementation issues was concluded on the basis of the literature review and on the logical approach to project cycle management (indicative programming (policies/strategy etc.) appraisal, finance, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (impact and sustainability). The research was carried out from 1997 to 2001 and policy and institutional research was evenly mixed with field based work. In general however, the procedure followed was experimental, action oriented and where possible participatory.

5.4.1 Pre-data/information Collection Work

In order to identify areas where useful data and information can be collected the development of working relationships with both GoE and international organisation has been important and has taken many years to build up confidences, understanding and the eventual synthesis of key issues. To assist in the research process a detailed 'Stakeholder Analysis' was conducted and all primary and secondary stakeholders were identified as important research interlocutors.

In conducting the research, the researcher has read hundreds of books, documents, field and monitoring reports and other grey research matter related to social protection and EGS in Ethiopia⁵⁰. As part of my function in the EC Food Security Unit in Addis Ababa, a wealth of material has been made available including file notes, confidential memorandums and letters of correspondence with partner organisations. The literature base has been continually upgraded with new reports, both governmental and non-governmental, accessed purely as a result of the researchers work.

In addition, as a regular member of numerous international and GoE committees over the research period (FDPPC Targeting Committee, Donors Food Security and Agricultural Committee (FSAC) etc.) and working groups related broadly to the field of food security as well as to EGS and LIPW, a wide range of informed discussion between different stakeholders has assisted in highlighting important issues. In addition, many months of fieldwork within Amhara and Tigray and Maharashtra have assisted further in comparing different policy, institutional and implementation issues, prior to actual data collection. Background documentation on the Maharashtra EGS experience has been gained from various sources and from the two recent visits to the Government of Maharashtra.

5.4.2 Primary and Secondary Data Collection

Information was gathered during each stage of the research from all major categories of materials (books, articles, air photos, maps, "grey area" development project documentation; statistics; government reports, central and local, central and local

⁵⁰ The researcher has also been an editor for the *'Ethiopian Journal of Agricultural Economics'* and 'Association of Ethiopian Micro-finance Enterprises' and has therefore benefited from the opportunity to edit related articles and to engage in discussion with the various authors.

archives). Government policy documents were obtained from the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation (MEDAC), the Central Statistics Authority (CSA), DPPC and the regional council offices. Other documents were found at the University of Addis Ababa and Dry Land College in Mekele. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund and European Commission libraries were also used. Evaluation, field survey (including PRA) and technical reviews were also collected as part of the researchers day to day work as a food security advisor with the EC. Project monitoring and evaluation reports were shared between and within agencies and provided as part of contractual obligations to the EC as the funding agency. As literature came to light, it was reviewed, indexed and copied if necessary prior to being filed under one of the main research area topics.

Primary data was collected through survey work involving questionnaires, key informant analysis and field work on EGS sites. Data related to project impact related to livelihoods was collected through PRA, direct observation and participant observation methods.

5.4.3 Survey Procedures

Prior to conducting detailed research a review of the different primary (participants in EGS) and secondary (indirect participants such as line department) have been clearly located on a stakeholder matrix. The analysis was used at the beginning of the research to allow for the identification of the sample population and different stratified sample groups. The method involves drawing up a list of stakeholders and reviewing whether the programme is likely to have a positive and/or a negative impact on that group (primary and secondary). In developing the stakeholder matrix 6 stratified sample populations were defined reflecting whether the stakeholders were primary or secondary as shown in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Summary of Sample Groups Based on Stakeholder Analysis

| Stratification | Sample Population |
|-----------------------|--|
| Sample Group 1 | Cross National focal groups including experts from Maharashtra and Ethiopia related to policy and institutional issues; |
| Sample Group 2 | Federal level Ethiopian policy makers and ministry advisors from the DPPC, MEDaC, MoA and Ministry of Social and Labour Affairs (MOLSA). |
| Sample Group 3 | Officials from the following donor agencies: EC, German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), World Bank, UK DFID, Italian Cooperation, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and NGOs including Save the Children (UK), SOS Sahel, OXFAM, CARE International, the Lutheran World Federation among others. |
| Sample Group 4 | Regional, Zonal and Woreda officials from the regional Food Security Units (FSUs), REST, DPPC, MoA, Rural Roads Authorities and Sustainable Environmental, Agriculture and Rehabilitation commissions (SEARC); |
| Sample Group 5 | Local Woreda officials from the Woreda councils and Woreda line departments; and, |
| Sample Group 6 | Local community groups involved in EGS works including minority groups (elderly, women etc.) stratified again by wealth ranking. |

Focus groups of between 3-8 individuals were formed at federal, regional and Woreda levels covering sample groups 1 to 5 to brainstorm on issues surrounding the

main research areas and conformed to one or more of the above stratified sample groups. The discussion issues were presented in the form of a range of questions derived from key issues covered in the literature. During the course of the research 19 focal group sessions were conducted where the researcher took the role of a non-intrusive moderator although the survey questions provided the overall structure to the discussions. Key issues were openly discussed, documented, including areas of both agreement and disagreement. At the end of each group session the outputs were summarised in front of all participants and any alterations or objections were noted and amendments made accordingly. Each discussion lasted between 1 and 2 hours.

Key Informant Interviews were conducted on a one to one basis with sample groups 1 through 6. In selecting key informants from the sample population, particularly where field work was involved, where possible a random number generator was used based on Microsoft EXCEL. Here a column of names was randomly given a value of either 0 or 1 and the random numbers led to a list of randomly prioritised informants. However, on most occasions, because of the nature of the research, key informants were either individuals in key official positions or representatives of local community groups. This often meant that male and not female respondents formed the majority of the sample, although this was often overcome with positive discrimination. In selecting the key individuals to accompany the researcher on the study visits, all senior ministry heads and presidential advisors were included as were the heads of the Women's Affairs office.

Interviews with EGS workers were held in the field, beside the EGS works and lasted between 20 minutes and 1 hour. Some 325 workers were interviewed over the research period. In most cases the researcher worked with a translator and care was taken to use female translators when discussing with female EGS workers (this is a cultural norm in Ethiopian context).

Research Questionnaires: Research questionnaires were drawn up based on the results of the literature review and based upon day to day questions evolving out of work of the researcher as EC EGS Coordinator in Ethiopia. The main initial questions for selecting questionnaire methods were: What is the purpose of the survey? What kinds of questions the survey would be developed to answer? What research questions is the researcher considering based on the results of the survey? To form answers to these questions, the questionnaires were developed to respond to the specific areas outlined: 3 policy and institutional areas (the policy environment, strategic programme guideline and institutional structures) and 4 implementation issues (programme efficiency and effectiveness, impact on short term relief objectives, impact on creation of long term productivity and livelihoods and overall programme and project sustainability). Research questions too were focused around these particular research areas.

In planning the questionnaire the advantages and disadvantages of using questionnaires were considered, objectives for the questionnaire were set and the literature related to the objectives reviewed. A table of frequencies was prepared and consideration given

to calculating percentages and arranging them in a table with the frequencies. Where data was nominal, a bar graph was constructed and where a distribution was collected a histogram was prepared to display the distribution. The median was taken as the average for ordinal data.

In describing relationships between two nominal variables, a contingency table was prepared and when groups have unequal numbers of respondents, percentages were included in the contingency tables. As it was extremely difficult, and often impossible, to evaluate the effects of a bias in sampling, where percentages were calculated, the standard error of a percentage was used. Four questionnaires were developed embracing the range of research areas as follows:

1. Cross national comparative questionnaire (for the study visits) of 100 questions. This was presented to 55 senior government respondents from the cross national focal group including regional presidential advisors. The results are used as percentages throughout the results sections. The results of the questionnaire are provided in Appendix 8.
2. A questionnaire was presented to 33 federal and regional level EGS policy makers and planners relating to the achievement of the 10 national disaster policy objectives. The results are displayed in a histogram
3. A questionnaire covering policy, institutional and implementation constraints was provided to 55 respondents from donor organisations. The results are presented as a bar chart.
4. A detailed questionnaire for the semi-structured interviews was targeted at all sample groups for the research. For the semi-structured interviews a set of questions were prepared, based on the principles presented above, and used on an ad hoc basis to guide discussion with officials and community members around specific research issues.

Structured direct observation was conducted largely around ongoing EGS works. The observations led to information collection related to the planning, implementation and monitoring of works as well as on issues such as wage payment, targeting and the establishment of work gangs etc. Direct observation focused on field trips to Amhara and Tigray and on the specific project sites under evaluation. I was supported by vehicles from the European Commission, drivers, translators and professional field staff – in most cases. All observations were entered into my field note books for each site. This allowed progress to be monitored both visually and through discussion with primary and secondary stakeholders. The observations allowed impact surveys of EGS works for rural roads, watershed development, irrigation, soil and water conservation and other infrastructure development to be undertaken.

5.4.4 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) Procedures

PRA was used in the sample sites and with sample populations. The techniques included preference ranking and problem grading exercises, wealth ranking,

triangulation of result. The procedures adopted for each approach are presented below.

Problem and preference ranking procedures were the same for each sample group. Each method was conducted both with regional officials involved in the planning and implementation of EGS as well as with sample households. The procedures adopted for each stratified sample were as follows

1. Problem and Preference Ranking Exercises with Sample Group 6: Households were asked to rank a range of problems in accordance with the following ranking system: 1 = no problem, 3 = a slight problem, 5 = a large problem, 7 = a very large problem and 9 = an extremely large problem. The intermediate values of 2,4,6,8 reflect compromise. In most cases literate members of households estimated the rank of specific problems verbally. On other occasions, stones were used in piles as a visual method.
2. Problem and Preference Ranking with Sample Group 1, 2 and 3: For these sample groups planning workshops allowed participants to articulate problems related to the implementation of EGS and based upon their own experiences. Each problem was written on to a card and all problem aggregated together and placed upon a planning board. Like problems were combined and a final list presented to each participants for ranking, highest to lowest again based upon the following numerical system. 1 = no problem, 3 = a slight problem, 5 = a large problem, 7 = a very large problem and 9 = an extremely large problem. The intermediate values of 2,4,6,8 again reflecting compromise.

All data was aggregated together and divided by the number of respondents for each variable collected. These were later summed and an average rank/grade provided. Data is presented in a matrix format.

In conducting wealth ranking, a random household sample of the population of 4 EGS sites were selected with 15 per cent coverage. The work was done with translators from the local areas so that local measurements and dialects could be distinguished. Each household was asked to detail their human, social, natural, physical and financial assets. The data collected was entered onto a chart, based on the Household Hunger Model presented in Figure 5.5 below. Each household was also asked to classify its wealth status with the local context, from their own perspective. This was carried out in 40-50 households in each sample population site.

Figure 5.5 Wealth Ranking of EGS Sample Households Using the HH Model

| HOUSEHOLD WEALTH | | | ESTIMATE LIVELIHOOD ASSETS |
|------------------|------------------------|--------|--|
| A | POOR HOUSEHOLDS | \geq | Human, Social, Natural, Physical and Financial Assets (e.g. land, labour, oxen, housing and grain storage, shoats, bees, off farm employment including EGS, debts, credits etc.) |
| | Production Deficit | | |
| | Household Production | | |
| B | MODE HOUSEHOLDS | \geq | Human, Social, Natural, Physical and Financial Assets (e.g. land, labour, oxen, housing and grain storage, shoats, bees, off farm employment including EGS, debts, credits etc.) |
| | Production Deficit | | |
| | Household Production | | |
| B | RICH HOUSEHOLDS | | Classification of Human, Social, Natural, Physical and Financial Assets (e.g. land, labour, oxen, housing and grain storage, shoats, bees, off farm employment including EGS, debts, credits etc.) |
| | Production Deficit | | |
| | Household Production | | |

Most households were able to articulate their assets easily for human, natural, physical and financial assets although estimation of social assets was more complicated. Social assets were largely interpreted as social status and was linked to wealth. In each sample household survey the results were aggregated together and average assets were classified for poor, mode and rich households. The results would later disclose the extent to which EGS works were an important income option for households from different wealth rankings.

Triangulation of results involved the continual cross checking of data, within the context from where it was obtained, and based on a standard of 3 cross reference for each piece of data. Where results were consistent they were accepted. Where two out of three respondents shared the same view, the cross referencing of results increased confidence levels. Where the data was shown to be inconsistent after triangulation, it was rejected.

5.4.5 Project Planning and Impact Measurement Procedures

The procedure adopted for the Logical Framework (LOGframe) planning workshops is an international standard. A total of 8 workshops were held, each with between 15 and 25 participants from Amhara and Tigray national regional states. Participants came from sample groups 1 and 2 and all participants had a formal responsibility for the policy, institutional or implementation aspects of EGS. The project planning and management method encourages participatory planning and analysis throughout the

project cycle. The technique used requires stakeholders to set priorities and plan for implementation and monitoring of EGS works. The main output of a LOGframe session is a project planning matrix, which stakeholders build together, based on the clear articulation of problems to be addressed. The planning approach relies on what is referred to as visualisation where all group contributions are displayed on cards on planning boards. These cards (contributions) are then grouped in terms of similarity and linkage and finally structured to allow planning information to be entered into the framework (planning boards). Important information on selected performance indicators, sources of verification, and important programme assumptions are entered into a standard framework. The emphasis on selecting verifiable performance indicators for EGS works is a vital component to feed into the output to purpose review. Each workshop last for 2-3 days and varies in levels of detail depending upon the scope of the project under preparation.

The Output to Purpose Reviews involved taking a strategic overview of progress towards achievement of the project's objectives (purpose and goal) and checking that original assumptions remain valid. The OPRs were based upon the information provided from the LOGframe workshops, narrative and financial monitoring reports of the project and any other primary or secondary data made available. For each of the 2 OPRs conducted, the researcher was accompanied by colleagues from the EC and regional Governments all with backgrounds in rural development planning and EGS.

As OPRs identify important lessons for future EGS project management systems, both for projects under review and for new projects, survey sample groups from 1 through 6 were used as key informants based around specific field measures or semi-structured interview questions. The OPRs also provide information on aid effectiveness, efficiency and impact. The final OPR report, focuses on the strategic attainment of outputs at the purpose level based on the monitoring indicators selected for the intervention. The performance in meetings these objectives is assessed on the basis of the attainment, likely and the non attainment of objectives. The final OPR, agreed with regional administrations, provide a benchmark for monitoring programme effectiveness, efficiency, relevance in meting both short and long term EGS objectives.

Livelihood Analysis: Social protection involves protecting the poorest members of society from livelihood decline. This involved protecting and enhancing existing assets to assist in risk minimisation. The research into rural livelihoods and EGS is linked with the HH model and wealth ranking exercises. The procedure for the analysis of livelihoods is as follows:

1. The initial stage involves the classification of capital assets (human, financial, social, physical and natural) of different income groups. These are visually presented through the HH model by each sample household by wealth category. This reveals information about the asset status of particular groups and how the build up and degradation of assets changes over time is affected by access to EGS works for example;

2. Based on these basic models of livelihood wealth, interviews with households highlight both constraining factors in asset build up and latent opportunities;
3. Thirdly, the implications for risk minimising are extrapolated, again through careful discussion, to foresee the likely impact of a change in production or employment through EGS on household wealth, and therefore hunger;
4. Where a particular set of capital assets are lacking or in decline, and contributing towards the overall household poverty status, the analysis extrapolates outwards to make recommendations as to how to improve the livelihood outcomes of interventions such as EGS.
5. Finally, the set of social assets provided by Government institutions are assessed as are the nature of institutional relationships at grass roots level.

Field measurement of the economic and physical infrastructure built through EGS provides a good proxy measure of the likely value in terms of asset creation by each household. The procedures adopted allow the relative impact of EGS works both in maintaining and/or improving livelihoods to be measured. The overall importance of EGS as a livelihood strategy is measured as is the impact on both meeting short and long term objectives (sustainable livelihoods). The analysis provides an important reference framework to compliment the OPRs and PRA work in building up a picture of the rural livelihoods or poor households.

5.4.6 Matrices

Matrices were used to provide important information about a number of relational variables. All matrices were developed after the review of primary and secondary information sources and are based on the 7 broad research areas identified for the research. The following matrices were developed for use by sample groups 1 through 4.

1. Comparative matrix of the Maharashtra and Ethiopian EGS (group 1);
2. The achievement/impact of NPDPM objectives (groups 2 and 4);
3. EGS problem grading matrix (groups 1, 2, 3);
4. EGS Conclusion and recommendation matrix (group 1);
5. Causal problem chain matrix for EGS (group 2);
6. LOGframe matrix (groups 2 and 3);

Respondents were randomly selected from groups 1 to 4 based on their particular experience in EGS and their position in public office. The matrix frameworks are provided in Appendix 6.

5.4.7 Cross National Comparative Procedures: Ethiopia and Maharashtra

Two one month study visits were made to the Maharashtra EGS, funded by the European Commission, and jointly coordinated by the researcher with the GoM Planning Department. The researcher, in his position as EGS coordinator for the EC, programmed €100,000 to take 55 senior Ethiopian government officials to visit the Maharashtra EGS. The GoM organised the field trips with the researcher (study visit

coordinator). The site visits were coordinated by Shri P.B.Pawar, Chief Engineer and Joint Secretary for EGS of the Planning Department, Shri Vitthal Bhasker of the Planning Department and Shri Prahed Yadev the Deputy Collector of EGS for Ahemad Nagar district. An example of the itinerary of the first study tour is presented in Appendix 9.

The first study visits commenced on the 14th May 1999 for a period of 2 weeks and the second on the 3rd May 2000 for a similar period. Both visits followed the road from Mumbai through Ahemad Nagar district to Nashik, a total of 200 Kms. On the route, horticulture, irrigation, water supply and conservation activities were visited. Each site visit was accompanied by government officials from departmental heads and technical experts. At the end of the trip, and upon arrival in Nashik, meetings were held with the District Collector. Study visit participants left Nashik and travelled a further 150 Kms to Aurangabad also visiting project sites on the way as well as EGS officers and departmental experts. Experience sharing meetings were conducted each evening to document both first and lasting impressions of the Maharashtra EGS programme. Each participant gave their constructive impression of the programme in relation to the Ethiopian experience.

Two seminars were held in the conference rooms outside the famous hotel, opposite the Gateway to India in Mumbai and attended by the members of the Ethiopian study tour as well as officials from the Government of Maharashtra. The Ethiopian officials were from the regional councils of Amhara and Tigray and from the newly established Food Security Units (FSU) established to coordinate the Regional Integrated Food Security Programme (RIFSP). The DPPC Commissioner from Amhara also attended. From the GoM the seminars were represented by the Minister of State, H.E. Shri B.S. Patil and Minister for EGS, H.E. Shri Shobhia Phadinis. The speech of the Ministers of State for EGS, as presented to the researcher, is provided in Appendix 10.

Additional participation and coordination support came from Shri B.P. Pawar, Chief Engineer and Joint Secretary for Policy, Monitoring and Budgeting EGS for the state Planning Department. Supplementary support was given by Shri Ashok Sharma, Joint Secretary for Rural Development Department, Dr. Lavekar, director of Horticulture for Pune, Shri Wankhede, Joint Director for the Directorate of Soil Conservation, Shri S.A. Jayawant, Under Secretary at the Planning Department, Shri Jyoti Potdar, Under Secretary, Planning Department and Shri R.Y. Penkar, Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, Pune. A list of key informants for the study visits is presented in Appendix 11.

Resource persons for the seminars were Dr. Suryawanshi, Officer on Special Duty for EGS in Amaravati and Dr. K.K. Khatu Economist and the researcher, as the EC coordinator of the visits, also acted as a resource person. The seminars were facilitated by my close colleague Dr. Hansjorg Neun, Coordinator of the EC LFSU in Ethiopia and focused around the following key policy and institutional issues:

- (a) What have been the defining policy objectives towards social protection, and how have they changed over time?
- (b) Has the policy attitude been hostile or supportive, interventionist or remote, conservative or reforming?
- (c) What have been the policy backgrounds to the key variables impinging on adaptive livelihood strategies?
- (d) From what levels have the principal influences come — Woreda, Zone, Region or federal levels?
- (e) Are there discernible influences from the international level?
- (f) What is the legislative framework?
- (g) Who are the agents of policy?
- (h) What institutions and ministries are involved? How do they co-ordinate their efforts?
- (i) What is the planning process? What major projects in respect of these areas are under implementation, or planned? What is the involvement of the donor community?
- (j) Where are the tensions, conflicts and inconsistencies in policy, and how are they resolved? What have been the positive and negative impacts of policy?

5.4.8 Special Methodological Procedures

As already stated, the researcher was also a direct participant as the EC coordinator of the EGS programme in Ethiopia. Participant observation was therefore central to the research process. There was no specific procedure followed here with the exception that the researcher attended, chaired, facilitated and coordinated meetings with Government, NGO, donor and community representatives around the theme of social protection through EGS. As a permanent member of the donor Food Security and Agricultural Committee (FSAC) and various other regional committees, an opportunity was provided not just to observe externally, but to participate and co-ordinate decision making related to policies, institutional arrangements and implementation arrangements. The participant observation also enabled the researcher to conduct over 50 field visits during the research period, all funded as part of my being in public office.

During the field visits to sample groups selected in the EGS works areas, a number of personal case studies were drawn up detailing lives and livelihoods of households involved in EGS works. These household and personal profiles were established through semi-structured interviews with respondents involved in wealth ranking exercises. The results provide a human face to the research and are presented as boxed case studies in the findings.

5.4.9 Data Reduction, Display, Conclusions and Verification

No data or information can be considered inherently 'clean' and accordingly verifying sequences are required to minimise errors and build greater statistical significance in the findings of the research. Data errors, miscalculations, poor information, biased

opinions and leading questions etc. can be minimised but not totally avoided. The following stages of verification for this research are utilised:

- a) Activity One: The reduction (selection, focusing, simplification, abstraction and transformation) of information and data was continuous and cross-referencing through all stages was built into the data/information reduction process. Triangulation was widely used. Examples include making data clusters, grouping opinions, cross referencing field monitoring results etc.
- b) Activity Two: The display of data focused upon data compression that is then transferred into the overall research framework (such as the comparative analysis of the Indian and Ethiopian programmes through matrices). The displays chosen are various but include matrices, graphs, tables of results, extended analytical texts, models etc.
- c) Activity Three: The drawing of conclusions and verification through assessment of patterns, trends, similarities, regularities, explanations, causal flows and propositions are made. Conclusions are drawn both on the basis of data display and upon verification of results through, for example, focus group discussions with key stakeholders.

Plotting data on two or more axis provides both an informational and relational dynamic. This method has been used to determine stakeholder preference to adopt policy guidelines and the degree of latitude given to vary from the policy guidelines as well as to determine preference and experience for administrative or self targeting and preference and experience for food and cash payments. This method was used for both primary and secondary stakeholders. Blank graphs providing only titles were made available to key informants and each respondent had to place a cross showing their individual preference or observation. The data points were later aggregated onto a single graph (scatter graph), therefore providing a visual map of opinions. Examples of the scatter graphs are provided in Appendix 12.

5.1.10 Drawing Conclusions

Drawing data and information together through the identification of patterns and themes, clustering, comparing and contrasting is a vital part of this research. The ability to both reach and confirm conclusions, based on this information base and from verifiable research results, is a challenging one. The approach to generating meaning, as identified for this research is broadly as follows:

- a) Note research patterns, themes and clusters of like information;
- b) Searching for plausibility in policy and institutional results;
- c) Counting and summing;
- d) Contrasting and comparing to sharpen understanding;
- e) Differentiating between variables through conceptual partitioning;

- f) Subsuming particular data and information into the general picture to find its location within the whole research strategy;
- g) Factoring and noting relations between different policy and institutional elements;
- h) Building a logical chain of evidence; and,
- i) Bringing conceptual and theoretical coherence to the framework.

This broad process for drawing and verifying conclusions is vital to the successful extrapolation of research findings and eventually construction into a specific set of follow up recommendations. Identifying patterns and themes (such as targeting, gender or wage payment issues for example) clustering, contrasting and comparing comes easily when the data is displayed in an appropriate format. However, plausible findings may in fact lead to wrong deductions because either the data is misleading, additional important variables have not been collected or there is noise in the data.

In drawing policy findings, a logical chain of evidence needs to be built up from the data base established through the research. For example, an increase in funding builds the capacity of line departments to implement their mandate, improves implementation of EGS projects, increases effectiveness through maximising asset creation and short term household incomes therefore increasing household income, consumption and nutritional security. All of these may be logical statements if the increase in funding is matched by improved physical and human resource capacities.

5.5 Comments on Methodology

The methodology chosen for policy and institutional research issues, focused largely around qualitative methods, has enabled a broad view of the policy and implementation context to be viewed. The methods chosen centred almost extensively on survey work, focus groups discussions, key informant interviews with government officials and external co-operation partners, participant observation and all has been contrasted with the results of the cross national research which have provided a useful comparison. The linkage between qualitative and quantitative methods have also allowed a broader set of issues to be researched despite the fact that most quantitative and field based analysis is presented in the following chapter. The results presented underscore the extent to which qualitative and quantitative elements are inter-linked. The research has benefited from the openness and frankness of key informants many of whom are colleagues either from the government administration or external co-operation partners. The methods have relied upon raw human experience and by and large this approach has been productive at the policy end of the spectrum.

Participant observation has provided a critical input to many of the results presented above and many of the results have only been achievable because of my direct involvement in decision making. It was perhaps difficult on occasions to determine whether my close relationship with some key officials interfered, and maybe influenced the research findings. However, what would have been the implications of conducting such research without the same level of access to individuals and

information? The researchers day to day work with the EC has provided rich sources of information, therefore providing entry points for further enquiry. Particular hands on grassroots experience with Amhara and Tigray have proved to be fruitful as a way triangulate results from the field based discussions.

Methods that have proved particularly successful included the literature reviews, focus group discussions, key informant interviews and survey work through the selection of stratified sample groups. These methods, when combined with participant observation have enabled detailed cross referencing. Formal questionnaires have yielded substantial insight into different issues and information to support arguments although the result sometimes appear inconclusive. For example, the use of scatter graphs and PRA work have created a good understanding of preferences and trends in thinking, but are less good as sound quantitative indicators. The study visits were structured according to the framework constructed for my research and were based around the literature reviews. The study visits also allowed officials to leave their usual work context and to reflect on their own experiences, often critically. The selection of the specific research elements have encouraged a wider level of awareness within the public administration of the issues involved in ESG policy and planning as a result of mixing work with research interests. One of the most striking methodological limitations however, faced during the survey and key informants research, was how to limit the flow of information as the breadth of personal experience often led people away from key research issues.

Research taken a broad look at EGS at a number of different levels, employing a range of different and often complimentary methods. The methodology adopted has provided an opportunity to look in detail at important EGS interventions from a number of different perspectives and to gain insight on some of the practical limitations of attaining policy goals. Most methods (field surveys, literature reviews of evaluation reports, focus group discussions and questionnaires) provided good data although the scale of enquiry did not allow a detailed picture of a particular microcosm to be built up. Participatory observation was invaluable and it allowed the researcher to attend many meetings, workshops, seminars and of course field visits to project sites to follow up on both EU and partner NGO funded EGS programmes.

As previously stated, the research process has involved constant linkage between qualitative and quantitative methods over contextual and non-contextual environments. Fieldwork provided access to more quantitative data although often it was not possible to verify data. Wealth ranking results were poor and did not allow the wealth impact of EGS to be clearly measured. This was considered a major limitation and wider panel based research would be needed – this is sadly outside the scope of the research. Triangulation was conducted but was also often complicated by lack of information and data at the field level where little research had been previously conducted.

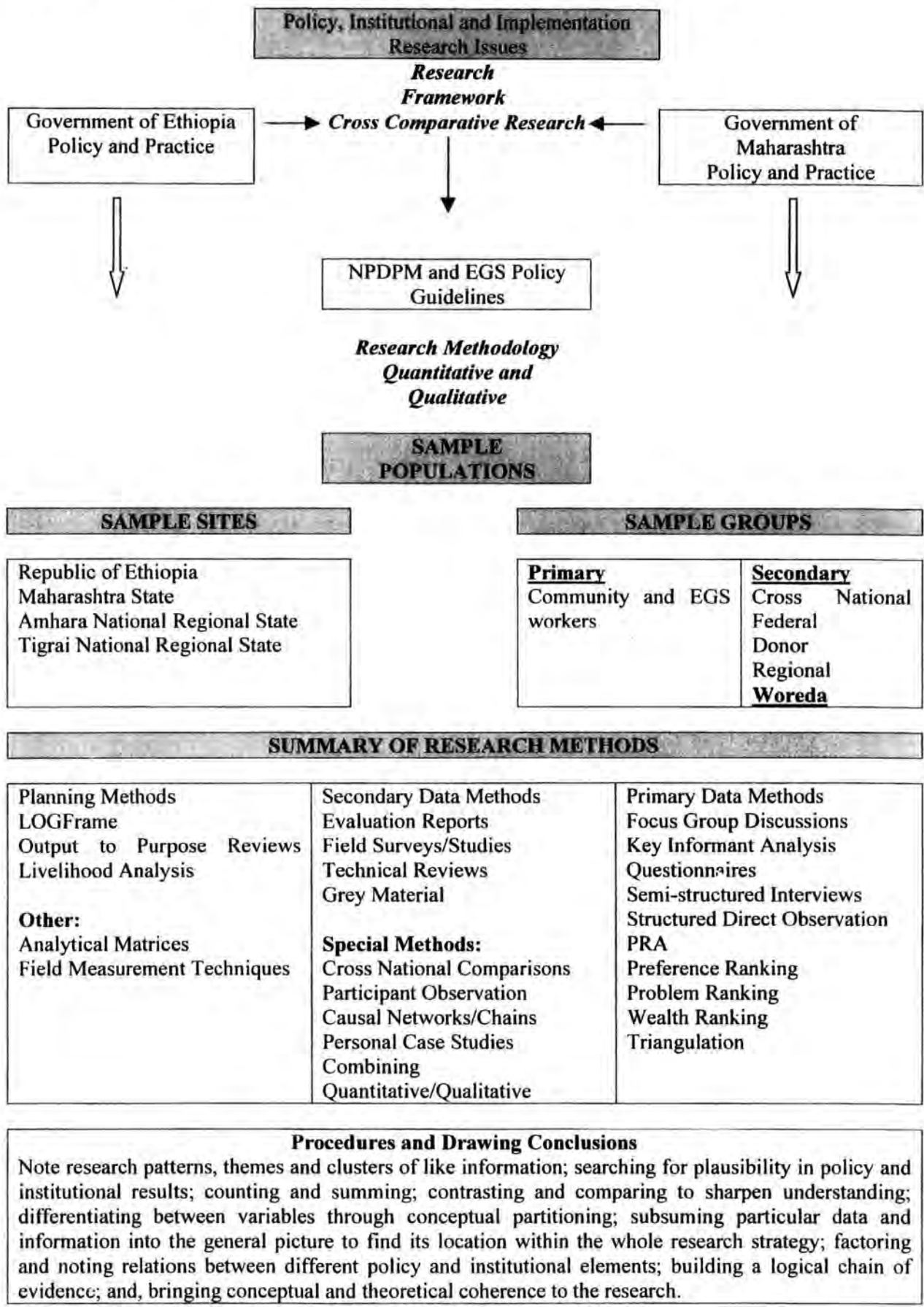
As EGS is often treated as largely relief focused intervention, this does not allow clear monitoring of inputs and outputs and figures at both regional and Woreda levels were

often contradictory in terms of numbers of beneficiaries, labour days, assets created, kilometres of terracing etc. Triangulation was useful on many occasions although not all. Issues of efficiency, effectiveness and relevance were derived through field-based calculations or through information gained during the research period at field level. Talking to farmers, Woreda officials, DAs and field staff all provided rich sources of information and data within which to gauge the overall efficiency and effectiveness of interventions and nutritional and wage rate variance was based on field log books and PRA exercises. Most data acquisition formats proved to be both effective and easy to use as did the semi-structured questionnaires.

The major constraint faced in the field has been lack of verifiable information from which to assess the impact of EGS in both nutritional and or financial terms. Livelihood analysis was useful for drawing conclusions but it did not yield the level of data needed to prove conclusively certain results. Often, important data supporting outputs, inputs, efficiency etc. were missing or supplied from administration offices without verification. However, triangulation proved useful and key informants often verified the data. Assessing the productivity potentials for such a wide variety of interventions was often not possible and a level of abstraction was used, based on either field based survey work or on the experiences of farmers and EGS workers.

Figure 5.6 below provides a summary diagram of the research framework, sample populations and research methods. The research methods and procedures have enabled a large amount of primary and secondary quantitative and qualitative data to be retrieved, screened, analysed, contrasted and a logical chain of evidence built up to reveal important research findings at policy, institutional and implementation levels.

Figure 5.6 **Summary of Research Framework, Sample Populations and Methods**



5.6 Conclusions

The framework for the research has been broad, reflecting the nature of the subject being researched. The approach has been action oriented, participatory and driven towards learning. Despite language and logistical constraints (as a result of Ethiopian field demands and the cross-national comparative research) the overall research frame and technical and managerial design considerations have been well founded upon what is practical, without compromising the achievement of research objectives.

Many of the methods used are exploratory, both in international and contextual terms. The selection of sample areas and sample populations for the research have also been experimental. However, the cross-national comparative research and other methods developed provide a robust and diverse set of tools to deal with the range of social protection and livelihood issues affecting EGS. Standard survey, PRA, project planning (LOGframe), livelihood impact analysis tools (including OPRs) have been used along side other visual techniques to including participant observation and the presentation of personal livelihood case studies. However, it has been through focal discussions, key informant interviews and

However, despite the design techniques used for this research, all methods used have had limitations. These are often difficult to clearly articulate and call for caution in drawing research findings. Initial limitations such as language, culture, the lack of previous research in this area as well as the range and different quality of data generated, need to be taken into consideration when interpreting findings. In many cases it has not been possible to reach findings with a high degree of confidence and this has to be accepted given the context of the research, its social and political nature, and the extent of chronic poverty affecting these areas. Baseline data does not exist in any of the sample sites selected further hampering survey work.

The research procedure has been developed to allow the research to meet its overall objective of 'assessing the role of effective and efficient public administration in developing and implementing successful social protection strategies through EGS to reduce poverty levels and contribute towards sustainable rural livelihoods'. The success of the methods used and data base collected from sample sites and populations will be judged by the quality and accuracy of the research findings. The findings will provide the basis upon which key conclusion can be reached.

The following two sections, present the findings of the research into policy and institutional and implementation issues.

CHAPTER 6: POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

This section presents the policy and institutional results based on the methodology outlined in the previous chapter. It focuses upon results obtained from the three initial areas of research classified as follows:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Area A | The policy environment; |
| Area B | The official programme guideline; and, |
| Area C | Institutional arrangements. |

The following sub research areas were also researched: policy and legal environments; EGS objectives; poverty line demarcation; Linking Relief to Development (LRD); targeting policy; resources; wage transfer arrangements; institutional arrangements and planning procedures; sectoral interventions for EGS; development of EGS works packages; monitoring and evaluation arrangements; workers rights; relevance, usability and regional dissemination; organisational/institutional responsibilities; institutional coordination; resource allocation issues; staffing issues; contingency planning arrangements; relief planning: short and long term perspectives; and targeting and registration issues. The grouping of these key sub issues by the researcher has enabled a more systematic approach to be adopted to EGS and has become a benchmark against which the GoE/EC ongoing programmes are now programmed. The significance of these results for evaluating the overall social protection and EGS policy rest on the principle that the appropriateness of the policy framework largely determines the channels and procedures by which stated EGS objectives are met. If either the policy framework, related guidelines or institutional relations remain incoherent, the extent to which objectives can be met will be reduced. Likewise, it is only through application in practice that the overall policy measures themselves can be evaluated and accordingly, this section focuses upon results obtained from sample groups 1 through 4, largely policy makers (senior federal and regional officials), bureau and department heads and donor officials.

As stated, as a central policy and institutions advisor on social protection in Ethiopia much of the insight provided here builds upon actions taken by the researcher in partnership with the Government of Ethiopia. The programmes, like the research, are experimental and judgements have been made on the ground, and in the day to day administration of the programmes. All decisions affect the effectiveness and efficiency of programme delivery and therefore the attainment of social protection objectives. However, prior to embarking on the results, it is important to see that policy and institutional results have been presented together, as they are very much interrelated facets of the wider social protection mechanisms. For example, the targeting policy for EGS is implemented through accountable local institutions and national and regional resources combine in implementation. Photos 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 below show the different contexts and methods employed for conducting this research.

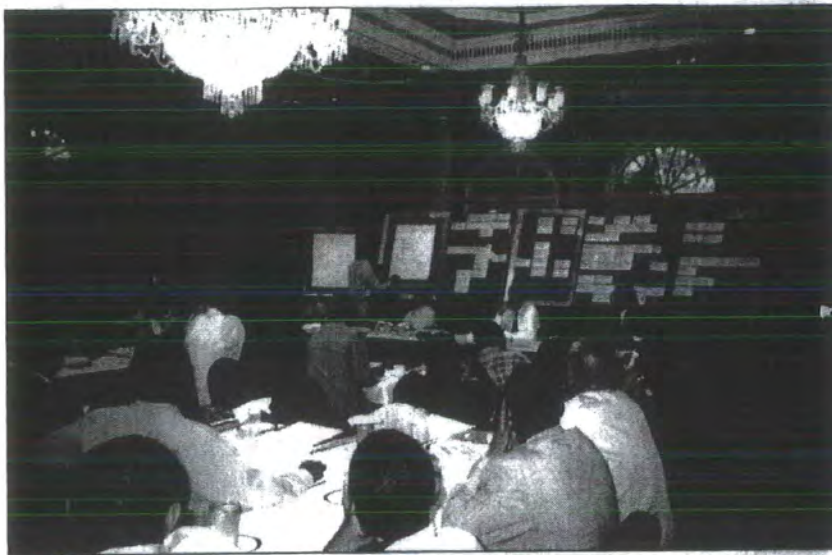


Photo 6.1 The researcher leading an EGS Policy Review Session with Ethiopian Officials



Photo 6.2 The researcher leading the study visit team to Maharashtra



Photo 6.3 The Maharashtran EGS Minister addressing the Ethiopian Study Visit Team

6.2 Policy and Institutional Results

The results presented in this chapter are informed by the comparative analysis with Maharashtra and based on the results of participant observation, key informant interviews, focus groups discussions, EGS LOGframe workshops and sample surveys. The research agenda for the study visits was based upon this research and an initial output included the write up of 5 independent reports from the DPPC and regional states as well as a detailed study visits report compiled by the researcher for the Ministry of economic Development and Cooperation.

6.2.1 Results of the Cross National Comparative Research

Ethiopian participants on the study visits were highly impressed by the overall institutionalisation of EGS in Maharashtra. The researcher had prepared a study visit combining workshops, meeting and field work with overall policy and institutional review sessions.

Questionnaire results show that of the 55 government officials attending the study visit, 84 per cent of respondents saw the Maharashtra programme and the accompanying legal acts as an appropriate model for Ethiopia with only 16 per cent expressing minor reservations⁵¹. All participants saw the need to move towards formalising social protection in Ethiopia through an appropriate legislation and a dire need to guarantee programme resources through an agreed medium term expenditure framework. This result strengthens the justification for conducting comparative research with Maharashtra as is demonstrated by the 'back to office' report provided to the researcher by the federal DPPC. DPPC stated, that:

"The Indian model appears to show that EGS can have a positive developmental and social impact at the same time as providing a basic livelihood for the victims of disaster based on a legislated right for all adult Indians to basic employment...Such solid procedures supported by a strong Government EGS Act have led EGS to be supported and appreciated by people at grass roots level ...Learning from the Indian model is useful as we

⁵¹ The experience sharing seminars were coordinated by the researcher and attended by 55 senior Ethiopian Government officials from line department head up to Regional Vice Presidents as well as 5 representatives from the EU Delegation. The seminars were also attended by senior state officials from the Government of Maharashtra. The Ethiopian officials were from the regional councils of Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray and from the recently established Food Security Units (FSU) established to coordinate the Regional Integrated Food Security Programme (RIFSP). The DPPC Commissioners from Amhara, Oromia and Tigray also attended. From the GoM the seminars were represented by the Minister of State, H.E. Shri B.S. Patil and Minister for EGS, H.E. Shri Shobhia Phadinis, EGS Secretaries Mr. D. Yadwadkar and Mr. B.P. Pawar. Additional participation was provided by Shri Ashok Sharma, Joint Secretary for Rural Development Department, Dr. Lavekar, director of Horticulture for Pune, Shri Wankhede, Joint Director for the Directorate of Soil Conservation, Shri S.A. Jayawant, Under Secretary at the Planning Department, Shri Jyoti Potdar, Under Secretary, Planning Department and Shri R.Y. Penkar, Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, Pune. Additional, resource persons for the seminars were Dr. Suryawanshi, Officer on Special Duty for EGS in Amaravati and Dr. K.K. Khatu Economist.

from DPPC, have been intensively involved in promoting and facilitating EGS development in Ethiopia.” (DPPC Study visit Report, 2000⁵²)

The study tour deliberated on policy principles and concluded that policies should create an enabling and not disabling environment. Maharashtra EGS officials provided graphic descriptions of how the policy was to be a ‘living’ and not ‘static’ document – a policy as a process whereby consensus is gained and not blindly institutionalised. A policy as a verb and not a noun.

The study visits to Maharashtra revealed that the State Government of Maharashtra has given statutory support to the guarantee of employment through the enactment of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Act, 1977, which was brought into force from 26th January 1979. Unlike the Ethiopian programme, the Maharashtra EGS is supported by a set of legally enacted orders, not a programme guideline, generally referred to as the EGS Act, promulgated in 1977, and presented as a compendium of orders issued from the Government of Maharashtra Planning Department. Moreover, Maharashtra officials were keen to point out that between the commencement of the Maharashtra EGS and the enactment of the policy a period of five years past (1972 to 1977) and during which modalities of operation and regulation were being developed. Officials from the Ministry of Planning stated that the process of EGS development should be an evolutionary process, developing in line with expanding implementation capacities. The differences between Ethiopia and Maharashtra EGS programmes stems from the divergent approaches to governance and public administration. DPPC officials acknowledged that the success of the programme has been heavily influenced by strong political support and public transparency and accountability in stating:

“commitment and integrity of the State Government, government officials and people at grass-roots level are very high. There are no loopholes that affect the planning and implementation of EGS in Maharashtra”
(pg 19, DPPC, 2000).

Maharashtra planning officers distinguished between the ‘guarantee’ scheme where the statutory ‘right to employment as an open entitlement’ has been preserved by the Government of Maharashtra (largely based on tax revenue generated from the cash cow of Mumbai) whereas in Ethiopia, the programme was a generation programmes as resources to fulfil labour demand were insufficient. Moreover, Ethiopian officials remarked that in India democratic structures and institutions have been long established and institutional capacities for policy implementation are far greater than those in transitional Ethiopia, a question of the efficiency of social protection delivery.

⁵² The study visit reports have been compiled by different offices of the GoE based on the research framework presented by the researcher based on this research. Accordingly, it would be possible to state that the methodological framework developed during the course of the 5 years research on EGS has now become an established way of thinking about EGS in Ethiopia.

In Maharashtra, the legal provisions of the EGS Act are continuously updated in accordance with present policy requirements. Accordingly, as was seen on the study visits, if the labour law or the minimum wages act are amended, the EGS orders are amended at the same time and directives are past to Divisional Commissioners, District Collectors and Officers on Special Duty (OSD) for implementation. In Ethiopia, the system of legislating for the NPDPM has not been developed and information is passed through public administrations in an ad hoc manner very much at the discretion of officials. According to DPPC, the study visit to Maharashtra enabled key institutions to gain insight into the reasons for success. In the internal report to the EC, DPPC stated that:

“EGS planning and implementation are very effective in Maharashtra because all concerned bodies are mandated by a legal framework. Duties and responsibilities of all concerned departments are clearly defined.... In Maharashtra, EGS is not only creating employment but also useful to create productive government community and private assets that may eventually lead to poverty eradication and overall economic development” (ibid. pg. 20).

Fieldwork and focal group discussions made it clear that ‘welfare programmes providing open entitlements’, of which the guarantee scheme is an example, would be unsustainable without massive revenue support. States outside Maharashtra implement an ‘assurance’ scheme because of resource limitations. Even in Maharashtra, the guarantee to an open entitlement created too great a demand for employment and the programmes had to be rationed as its cost demanded some 15 per cent of the Maharashtra state budget. Officials from the Ministry of Planning also observed that the Maharashtra EGS favours the not-so-poor in the ranks of the beneficiaries and has not been extended as an urban programme where absolute poverty and entitlement decline are observable – a rural bias was observable. The scheme also created assets for a particular landed minority in rural Maharashtra. Another criticism, which was discussed with GoM officials, is the extent to which the programme is implemented largely through government line departments and not local government institutions and accordingly, community involvement and participation remains low when compared to Ethiopia⁵³.

At the end of the study visits, the 55 participants prepared a comparative analysis of key characteristics for the different programmes. The analysis focused upon the overall policy goals, legal environment, poverty line demarcation, targeting policy and institutional arrangements. The results are presented in Table 6.1 below and are based upon respondents collective contributions. The results were displayed on planning boards for ease of comparison.

⁵³ This point is interesting as the potential involvement of local government structures in planning and implementation of EGS in Ethiopia is far higher than Maharashtra although, for capacity and other reasons, lower levels of public administration remain less aware of the policy and directives.

Table 6.1 Results of Group Based Comparative Assessment on Policy and Institutions

| ETHIOPIAN EGS | MAHARASHTRA EGS |
|--|--|
| A. POLICY GOAL | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To provide temporary employment for able bodied people affected by a disaster of threatened by severe food shortage who have no other means of livelihood. (DPPC, EGS Guideline, 1997) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To provide gainful employment – to the individual and the community – in manual work to all able bodied adults in rural areas who are in need and who are desirous of work but cannot find work (Maharashtra EGS Act, 1972) |
| B. LEGAL FRAMEWORK | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Federal NPDPM, Directives, National Programme and EGS Guidelines. Weak voluntaristic legal environment and legislature. Not clearly understood at all levels and implementation seen as voluntary and not mandatory. Because of resource scarcity and resource planning constraints EGS workers not guaranteed EGS placement. Schemes generate but do not guarantee right to work. High government commitment to poverty alleviation through EGS although policy not widely recognised by officials. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regulated by Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Act and over 506 legal orders on issues such as targeting, wage payments, sectoral focal points etc. also referred to as EGS rules. Strong mandatory legal and policy framework implemented at all levels of administration All unemployed guaranteed right to work on EGS. High government commitment to poverty alleviation and social protection policies of which EGS is one of a handful of policy measures. |
| C. POVERTY LINE DEMARCATION | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poverty line not clearly and systematically demarcated. Recent figures (World Bank, 1999) put some 49 per cent of Ethiopians below the poverty line. Criteria for demarcation remain vague; Poverty line indirectly set as Kcal 2,100 per person per day; Targeted income groups need to be more comprehensively defined | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poverty line demarcated every ten years through detailed socio-economic survey. Survey focused on socio-economic indicators, access to social infrastructure, income and consumption data. Criteria well defined at all administrative levels; Poverty line does not exclude or preclude individuals right to work as self targeting of below market wage ensures access by the poorest sections of society. |
| D. TARGETING POLICY | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative targeting procedure in operation. Non-able bodied receive gratuitous relief (food aid). Selection through Woreda and Kebele system. Errors of inclusion and exclusion vary but significant. EGS Administrative Targeting Body not established as planned by DPPC. Area targeted depends on EWS results and crop assessment results. Numbers of workers from each family depends on family size. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Self targeted programme (those in need of employment fill in Form No. 1) prior to submission to the registering authority at village level – usually Samiti Officer. Non-able bodied not entitled to unemployment allowance. All registrants guaranteed work. All registrants furnished with identity card (Form No. 4). Only Class 'C' municipal areas targeted. No limit to family member participation in EGS. |
| E. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structure in place although linkage between relief (DPPC) and line departments such as BoA remains weak; EGS under the mandate of DPPC and in principle line departments although the degree of responsibility depends on capacity and resources; Structure clearly defined in NPDPM and EGS Guideline through federal, regional, Zonal and Woreda levels; Professional staff working on EGS very few; Newly established Food Security Desks should increase developmental planning of EGS interventions more in line with watershed development approach. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministers of State for EGS accountable to the state government; Well defined accountable structure functioning in practice throughout state administration levels; Programmes controlled through Planning Department; All EGS projects integrated into line departments work; Highly qualified and mandated professional staff in place throughout structure. |

The results of the comparative analysis presented above provides a stark overview of the major defining programme characteristics for both programmes. Participants commented, that the study visits had made them more aware of the importance of developing a formal and enforceable basis for EGS rather than, what was considered, the rather ad hoc Ethiopian programme where policy measures were rarely systematically implemented. The comparative results can be summarised as follows:

a) Policy Goal: The majority of officials accepted that as resource constraints were a major limitation in Ethiopia, a guarantee for employment could not be provided as is currently the case in Maharashtra, seriously undermining the social protection policy itself. Results from survey work show that the majority of Ethiopian government officials (77 per cent) interviewed stated that the present EGS objectives were appropriate for the Ethiopian context although it was acknowledged that the focus on disaster, and not on gainful employment remained a defining difference.

b) Legal Framework: Respondents saw a marked difference in the two countries legal environments. Research with government officials has shown that 92 per cent consider the implementation of the NPDPM, Directives and EGS Guidelines as a 'voluntary' and not 'mandatory' act in the sense that their application is not legally binding as is the case in Maharashtra. Questionnaire results show that 96 per cent of the study visit officials favoured enactment of the policy and of those 91 per cent favoured enactment at a regional level and based on regional legislature, not through federal enactment. Only 9 per cent felt that enactment should be undertaken at the federal level, although these respondents not surprisingly were largely federal officials. The analysis shows that a strong legal framework needs to be accompanied by targeted and programmed resources. All respondents (100 per cent) interviewed recognised that the Ethiopian EGS policy was not fully accepted by the regions and that regionalisation was urgently needed, supported by legislation and local bylaws where necessary. Policy ownership accompanied by regional enactment were perceived by Amhara and Tigray regional officials as a focal issue. According to DPPC officials attending the study visits, this is precisely what DPPC have attempted to encourage as a strong policy framework is clearly a manifestations of a strong government without which a 'policy vacuum' is apparent. Some 80 per cent of GoE officials interviewed showed a preference for review of the NPDPM and Federal food security strategies where concurrence would be sought between different social protection measures.

c) Poverty Line Demarcation⁵⁴: The comparative analysis shows how a systematic approach to defining the poverty line needs to be institutionalised in Ethiopia as a policy priority. Survey results show that over 78 per cent of senior

⁵⁴ The demarcation, based on detailed socio-economic census data compiled every 10 years, provides information on the impact of policies and in the relative levels of poverty with the state of Maharashtra. While no formal poverty line has been demarcated in Ethiopia a number of attempts, by the MEDaC Welfare Monitoring Unit, Central Statistics Authority and World Bank have provided initial information.

government respondents felt that a poverty line should be more systematically demarcated in Ethiopia as a means to assess the impact of social protection policies, as is currently practised in Maharashtra⁵⁵. However, officials felt that such a process could be based on an expansion of the existing work of MEDAC and CSA and information should be disaggregated regionally⁵⁶.

d) Targeting Policy: In Ethiopia, targeting is administrative and conducted by targeting committees based on a locally formalised arrangement. Concerns were expressed by some respondents as to the volume of targeting errors resulting from local interference in worker selection and accordingly some 65 per cent of respondents favoured 'self targeted' EGS interventions where as 35 per cent favoured continuing with the present 'administrative' targeting approach. It was noted that under the Maharashtra EGS, a number of employment creation programmes such as the Rural Works Programme, the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment, the pilot intensive rural employment programme, Area Development Programmes and programmes designed for rendering assistance to small and marginal farmers are being implemented, all through self targeting policies whereby the workers declares availability and desire to participate. Maharashtra planning officials saw self targeting as a 'principle of democracy' and administrative targeting as a hangover from the central control of the state. The numbers of family representatives resulted from the overall policy orientation (i.e. supply and demand driven approaches).

e) Institutional Arrangements: It was acknowledged by the majority of Ethiopian respondents attending the study visits that while institutional structures have been established in the policy measures and directives, they have not been implemented as envisaged. In particular, it was noted that whilst the policy includes responsibilities for many line departments, EGS has tended to become the sole preserve of DPPC, in their function as a disaster bureau. Linkage between relief (DPPC) and development institutions was poor, although particularly in Amhara. Overall levels of coordination in Tigray between bureaus was considered closer to the policy ideal. Lack of resources channeled through the budget, lack of policy orientation and familiarisation, accompanied by lack of dedicated staff in local institutions, all reduced the overall policy effectiveness. In Maharashtra, despite some anomalies observed in the study visits, the institutional structures were considered by the participants to be well

⁵⁵ In support of the policy, in India, a 'poverty line' is demarcated through a 10 year socio-economic assessment based on national sample survey results and based on income and the 'cost of living' (expenditure). The poverty line, once drawn, allows the government to access and define the income status of the population into different income groups. Once defined, any individual falling below the poverty line, defined broadly as US\$ 1 per day, is entitled to benefit from a number of targeted programmes. In reality, the poverty line exercise assists in realising national planning targets and determines broadly the number of individuals falling below the poverty line.

⁵⁶ Officials from MEDaC claimed that the Ethiopia Government does not demarcate a poverty line through national sample surveys, whereas demarcation through 'nutritional status line' at 2,100 Kcals per day is conducted and might be seen as a proxy indicator for poverty. Accordingly, the federal DPPC annual appeals for relief food beneficiaries are equivalent in the broadest possible sense. However, in reality, the numbers of individuals consuming less than 2,100 Kcal per day is estimated by both the GoE and World Bank to be almost 60 per cent of the population.

structured, accountable, coordinated at all levels of administration. In particular, it was observed that EGS works are absorbed into the day to day activities of the line departments, under the overall coordination of the planning department. Whilst DPPC remains the only umbrella organisation for the Ethiopian EGS, it has not formal development mandate.

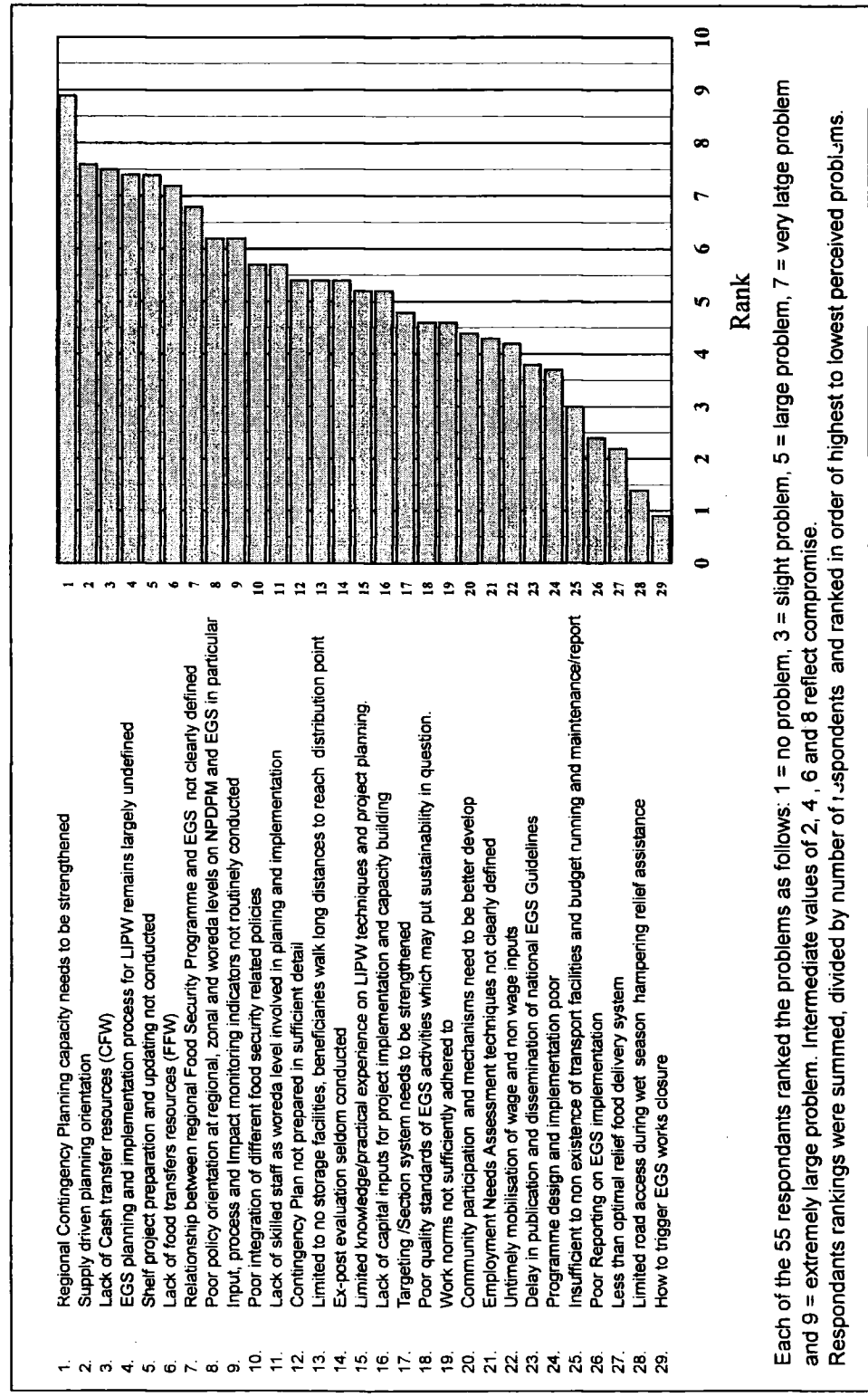
6.2.2 Results of the Policy and Institutional Problem Ranking Exercise

A questionnaire covering policy and institutional characteristics was presented to 55 respondents from federal and regional sample groups. Interestingly the results show that only 19 per cent of officials from Amhara and Tigray stated that the EGS policy has been effective in meeting its social protection objectives and an overwhelming 81 per cent had serious concerns about programme viability under the present policy and implementation arrangements. Respondents consistently stated that somehow the gulf between the policy as planned and the programme as practised remains unacceptably large and that urgent reform was needed to regionalise and enact the policy and to focus on public administration reform at the lower levels of administration.

In order to understand the nature of the problems being inferred, two planning workshops were conducted with officials from the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation (MEDaC) and regional officials from Amhara (based at Bahir Dar) and Tigray (based in Mekele). The workshop participants were re-introduced to the main elements of the policy and requested to reflect on present regional programme constraints. The participatory process adopted, using the LOGframe, led to 29 problems being identified as currently impacting negatively upon the Amhara and Tigray EGS programmes. The problems listed were prioritised by the officials and results are presented in Figure 6.1 below, ranked according to highest preference.

Among the most important problems identified includes poor regional contingency planning for disasters, a supply driven orientation based on available resources and not labour demand, non availability of cash-based wage transfers, undefined EGS planning and implementation processes, poor preparation of shelf projects, lack of food aid transfer resources a various other policy orientation problems as being the most significant problems currently faced during implementation. Problems of a lesser nature included lack of transport facilities, poor reporting, less than optimal relief food delivery systems, limited road access and poor closure of EGS works. The problems span the policy, institutional and implementation divide and could be classified accordingly. In following up on the problem identification exercise, a number of respondents stated that the capacity within the public administration 'just does not exist' to co-ordinate such an ambitious programme at this stage of regional development. Others claimed that urgent reform was needed in the way EGS is implemented in Ethiopia from the 'policy down and grassroots up'. Many respondents claimed that the functioning of the administration is singularly the largest constraint affected by capital and human resource constraints. Enactment of the policy would be an important step in realising political support for social protection, but it would not overcome the capacity problems.

Figure 6.1 Results of Problem Ranking Exercise on Policy and Institutional Problems



Each of the 55 respondents ranked the problems as follows: 1 = no problem, 3 = slight problem, 5 = large problem, 7 = very large problem and 9 = extremely large problem. Intermediate values of 2, 4, 6 and 8 reflect compromise. Respondents rankings were summed, divided by number of respondents and ranked in order of highest to lowest perceived problems.

These results show constraints at policy, institutional and substantially, at implementation levels. The exercise highlight the need for a demand driven social protection mechanism backed up by a flexible policy and effective administration, without which meeting objectives would be difficult. A senior DPPC officials stated that 'social protection complicated is a difficult endeavour in Ethiopia' and one where political support and experience is a *sine qua non* if the list of policy, institutional and implementation problems listed are to be successfully and coherently resolved. Workshop participants were surprised about the number of problems they had identified and many respondents questioned whether either the Government or the international community had the resolve to commit sufficient resources to commit to such a costly social protection mechanism? Privately, a number of officials stated that the regions alone, and not the federal level, should now determine and implement social protection policies and measures, based on their own capacities for implementation and not on a prescribed formula.

As if the range of problems indicated were not sufficient, key informants interviews provided even greater graphic information about the totality of constraints affecting the programme, example quotes of which are summarised below. These quotes come from key informant interviews and demonstrate the centrality of capacity constraints at the lower levels of administration, raising an important policy question: can the present policy be fully implemented given the known capacity constraints affecting lower levels of administration in planning and implementing EGS works?

'The main constraint to effectively implement the EGS policy has been the weak institutional capacity, particularly at Woreda level. Also, for some works, additional inputs are often lacking.' (Head of a Zonal asked about DPPB, 1998)

"The Government's capacity in Ethiopia is too weak to implement any kind of EGS. The NGOs goal is not to invest in public infrastructure and force people to work for their food.... Also, the NGO has no means, no cash to do this monitoring.' (NGOs emergency co-ordinator asked about EGS activities within two relief aid programmes 2000)

"In this project request a quantified amount of activities cannot be made because of: the emergency nature of the project; the areas covered are large; the number of people needing assistance are very large which needs a major co-ordination effort; there is no clear indication on the amount of food that can be made available to execute the programme". (NGO appeal document in modular form, 1998)

'In some areas the beneficiaries were involved in EGS...In some areas because of the seriousness of the food shortage at the time of the distribution beneficiaries received the ration with the understanding that they will perform some of the activities...at later stage.' (NGO project Proposal, 1997)

'The project will attempt to distribute the food commodities through EGS.... The implementation modalities of the National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Preparedness will be through FFW, EBSN and EGS...In most areas where emergency food assistance is needed the EGS will be the modality used.... Therefore the food resource will be used to execute EGS programmes in some of the Woredas where it is feasible.... The EGS activities to be

implemented can not be exactly quantified at this stage... (Report of NGO field relief manager)

In addressing this key question, the NPDPM remains a federal policy within which regions and sub regional administrations play a focal role, and the regional administrations have been given, as part of the process of administrative decentralisation, the mandate of 'adapting' both the directives and guidelines to develop autonomous regional programming frameworks and associated interventions. In the National Programme Document of 1994 stated that:

"The TGE's drive to decentralise the development management structure through federal norms will be the main institutional frame of reference for the implementation of the NPDPPM. The Woreda council, which is the basis for local governance will be the main focal point for the design and implementation of the programme"
(Pg. 40, NPD, TGE, 1994)

Workshop participants stated that the EGS policy environment and associated institutional responsibilities remained unclear and one senior government respondent claimed that the policy was 'polarised and fragmented'. Officials from the regional officials in Amhara claimed that the EGS guideline had not been embraced by the regions and accordingly, many focal elements of the national policy are not effectively implemented in accordance with detailed directives. The researchers postulation that a government policy or strategy needs must be supported by a coherent regulatory framework, and built capacity to respond to growing labour demand for public works, if social protection objectives are to be met. This is particularly so if the success of the policy rests at the lowest administrative level (Woreda) where inevitably capacity constraints are the highest. The lack of such a formal legislative support, backed up by capacity building commitment for social protection, through the budget, is again supported by the internal reports submitted to the researcher of study visit participants as presented below.

"The planning and implementation of EGS in Ethiopia are not effective because they are mainly undertaken by ad hoc committees and on a voluntary basis. Therefore, EGS in Ethiopia, like that of India, (Maharashtra) should be enacted and duties and responsibilities of line departments should be clearly defined. Line departments should be mandated by a clearly defined legal framework' (pg. 21 DPPC, 2000)

'There shall be a separate and legally enacted EGS working procedure. This legal framework shall clearly indicate: responsibilities for planning and implementation and selection of beneficiaries, labour rights and accident claims and wage rates' (pg. 28, ANRS, 2000)

"The NPDPM, of which EGS is a cornerstone, should be enacted so as to make its implementation mandatory to all stakeholders. So far stakeholders undertake EGS activities on a voluntary basis. It was clear to the study group that the successes of the Maharashtra EGS could be owed to a clear mandatory legal and policy environment which is a pre-condition to a coordinated approach for poverty alleviation through EGS" (pg. 6 ONRS, 2000)

Respondents from sample groups 1 and 2 stated that the NPDPM, Directives, National Programme Document and EGS Guideline 'were not regulated by a clearly supported legal framework, as is the case in Maharashtra. Policy adoption therefore remains at the discretion of the government official – who is often not fully mandated to oversee the implementation of EGS and insufficiently informed of policy directions, directives or guidelines' (Interview with senior DPPC official). This view was later confirmed by visits to Zonal and Woreda offices in Amhara, although not in Tigray where roles and responsibilities, with regard to the policy, were more clearly stipulated.

6.2.3 National Policy for Disaster Prevention and Management

The policy "aims at a congruence of relief efforts and planned development to strengthen the economic fabric of the disaster prone areas so as to mitigate the suffering of the affected population and enhance their capability to face the challenge of such disasters in the future" (NPDPM, pg. 1). The policy itself, was born out of the desire to make efficient and effective use out of relief resources, by linking them to development through public works. The researcher, with a senior Government official outlined the policy formulation process for the national policy (see Figure 6.2 below).

Figure 6.2 · NPDPM Policy, Programme and EGS Guideline Formulation Process

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Increased awareness of important issues leading to policy development within policy making arena | TGE, Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), 1991 > |
| 2 | Collecting experiences and information to increase depth and breadth of understanding of policy issue | < 1993, TGE, RRC |
| 3 | Confirming and testing significance of issues for policy development | < 1993, TGE, RRC |
| 4 | Policy formulation and review of different policy options | RRC 1993, DPPC, 1997, EGS Study visit |
| 5 | NPDPM declaration and development of National Programme Document | NPDPM/Directives, October, 1993 NPD, March 1994, General Guidelines for NDPPM, 1995, EGS Guideline, 1997 |
| 6 | Policy implementation | 1993 > RRC/DPPC |
| 7 | Policy implementation feedback | Conducted by DPPC, 1999, DPPC/Regional Administration EGS Study visit to Maharashtra (Researcher coordinated) |
| 8 | Ongoing policy revision | Currently under discussion (DDPC/PMO) Ongoing Regionalisation of Policy (regions) |

Of most interest is the delay between the promulgation of the NPDPM in 1993, with EGS as the cornerstone, and the EGS guideline of 1997 – a delay of 4 years. Regional officials interviewed stated that the delay had led to a policy guideline vacuum within which regions were uncertain of formal roles and responsibilities. Accordingly, regional and sub-regional administrations devised varying approaches to implementation.

In addition, the ongoing policy revision, as put forward by DPPC to the Prime Ministers Office (PMO), has been under discussion since 1999 and action remains to be taken.

Dr. Hansjorg Neun, head of the EC Food Security Unit stated that the "failure to capitalise on the directives in implementation (1993 to present) has seriously retarded the programme and the general perception among officials and donors that EGS is a failing policy instrument, although one that still merits support". Revival and reform are therefore urgent. The development, since 1996, of the Federal (1996) and regional food security strategies and related programmes (1998) expanded further the policy environment and increased the confusion between officials and institutions about the status and breadth of the social protection programme and instruments.

To implement the policy, a close link between relief and development efforts was intended through delineation of management functions and responsibilities of different stakeholders. These functions were delineated at federal, regional, Zonal, Woreda and Kushet level where much of the responsibility for planning rested. Despite the call for greater linkage and policy awareness, survey results undertaken show that only 56 per cent of senior officials interviewed were acquainted with the NPDPM and even fewer (36 per cent) had read the directives and national programme documents (24 per cent). In spite of this, 84 per cent of officials interviewed claim that the present policy framework was 'broadly' perceived as being appropriate for Ethiopia. However, impact monitoring of the policy and EGS programme have not been conducted neither have the expected policy review.

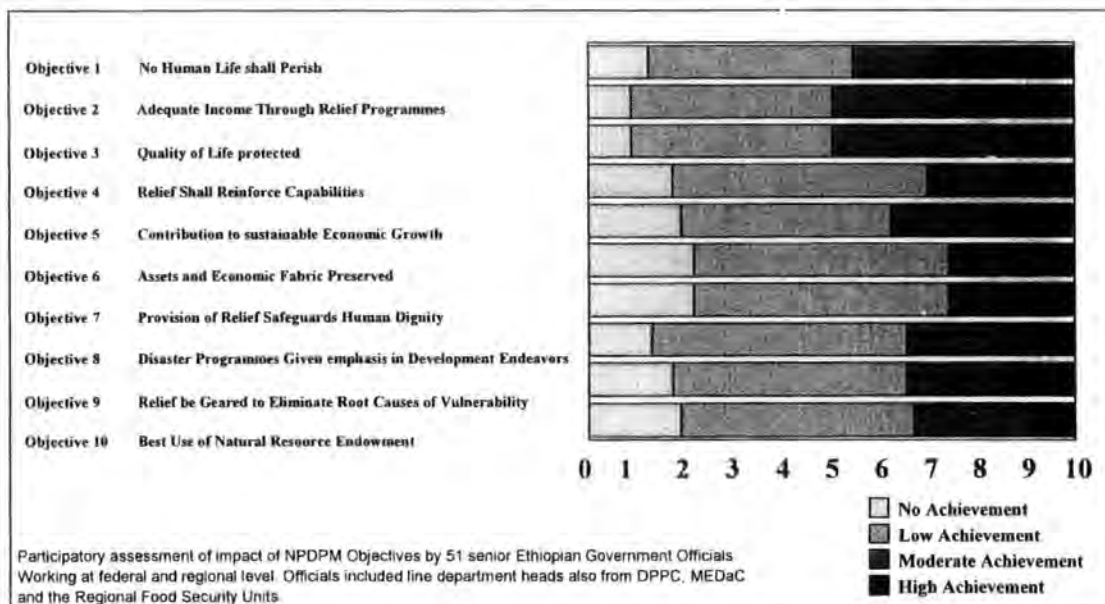
Under the policy a disaster is stated as being "an event in which a society or community undergoes acute deprivation of food and other basic necessities due to natural and man-made calamities to such an extent that normal functions of the society or the community is disrupted and that it cannot subsist without outside intervention" (ibid. Pg. 1). However, an question has been raised in recent years whether in fact Ethiopia is suffering, year after year, from a cyclical set of disasters or from chronic vulnerability and a process of rural livelihood decline. Research results shows that 84 per cent of Ethiopian officials interviewed classified the problem as 'chronic' and not 'transitory as did 98 per cent of key informants in development partner offices such as the World Bank, UK DFID ad Canadian CIDA. However, DPPC officials continue to assert, as is reflected in the annual relief appeals that fund EGS, that emergencies and not chronic poverty are the cause. This issue is fundamental because unless empirical research into this issue is conducted, the policy objectives will not directly address the problems observed. and policy formulations will differ. A call for a formal employment based safety net would have less credence if the problem was transitory whereas it would be supported if livelihood decline were seen as chronic and intractable.

Under the policy, it is stipulated that relief programmes are to be targeted to allow the linking of such resources to assist in the development process. Accordingly:

“relief programmes will comprise measures such as employment generation schemes, supply and distribution of food and other essential commodities, the availability of safe drinking water, health and nutrition support, support to the old and infirm, conservation of rural assets like livestock, support to non farm and secondary economic activities, environmental rehabilitation and other development activities with drought proofing content”...Disaster preparedness means “building up of capabilities before disaster situations prevail in order to reduce impacts. Disaster preparedness measures include *inter alia*, availability of a food reserve, emergency reserve fund, seed reserve, health facilities, warning system, logistical infrastructure, relief manuals and shelves of projects” (ibid. pg.2)

Clearly, policy impact needs to be evaluated based on detailed assessment of the attainment of objectives. However, the policy was not accompanied by a set of detailed objectively verifiable impact indicators that render impact measurement even possible. Government can not therefore assess the impact of the policy. In realisation of this, two important aspects have been researched: 1) an assessment by key government officials of the impact of the policy based upon their personal day to day experiences; and, 2) a participatory exercise with the same officials to select preliminary impact indicators for measuring the overall impact of the policy. The results for the first assessment above, are presented in Figure 6.3 and are concluded on the basis of focus group sessions where individual respondents were requested to rank the attainment of the 10 key national policy objectives. Participants were requested to rate the attainment of key objectives as not being achieved and low, medium and high achievement.

Figure 6.3 Participatory Evaluation of the Attainment of National Policy Objectives



Results show that the achievement of policy objectives is most frequently classified as ‘low’. Interestingly, the highest impact is attributed to the first principle and second objectives stating that ‘no human life shall perish’ and that ‘adequate income shall be provided to all’. Figures for deaths due to hunger since the policy has been promulgated would support these rankings. Results show that the more developmental

the objectives the poorer the assessment of performance (livelihood impact). Policy objective 10 on 'best use of natural resources' is dominated by 'no' to 'low' objective achievement. These results, if accepted as representative, clearly demonstrate the extent to which the first 9 years (1993-2002) of policy implementation are characterised by no to low achievements in building economic and social infrastructure that affects rural livelihoods. Moreover, and of great interest, federal level government key informants claimed higher level impact than lower level regional, Zonal and Woreda level informants demonstrating the need for greater transparency in impact assessment. This suggests that federal officials are either less informed of the exact status of policy implementation or that lower level officials are understating their own achievement. The exercise clearly demonstrates the need for federal DPPC to monitor the status of the policy and programme implementation through the selection of objectively verifiable indicators.

In follow up to this exercise, respondents from survey sample groups 1, 2 and 3, with a predominance of planning experience and responsible for monitoring, assisted the researcher in outlining a set of appropriate, measurable and realistic indicators were developed based on the results of 3 separate focal group sessions on impact monitoring and the national policy. The results are presented in Table 6.2 below summarises proposed OVI's and means of verification to be used for policy monitoring based on the results of key informant interviews.

Table 6.2 Participant Proposed OVI's and MOVs

| NPDPM Objectives | Participant Proposed Verifiable Indicators | Participant Proposed Means of Verification |
|--|---|--|
| No human life shall perish for want of assistance in time of disaster | Mortality Rates | DPPC, MoH, CSA, UNICEF, health sector |
| Adequate income shall be ensured to disaster affected households through relief programmes to provide access to food and other basic necessities | Nutritional Status | UNICEF, SCF (UK), CARE and other nutritional surveys. |
| The quality of life in the affected areas shall be protected from deterioration on account of disaster | Out migration level Food aid receipt figures Livelihood Assets | Welfare Monitoring Reports, SCF (UK), NGO food aid reports, WFP. |
| Relief effort shall reinforce the capabilities of the affected areas and population, promoting self-reliance | Strengthened household coping mechanisms, relief beneficiary figures | BoPED, UNEUE, EC, SCF (UK), DPPC and WFP monitoring reports |
| Contribution to sustainable economic growth and development shall be given due emphasis in all relief efforts | Linkage of relief resources to line department activities | DPPC, EC EGS reports, WFP reports and DPPC relief monitoring reports |
| The asset and economic fabric of the affected areas shall be preserved to enable speedy post-disaster recovery | Relief beneficiary figures. Loss of community and household assets | Relief monitoring reports, DPPC Appeals and EC EGS reports |
| Provision of relief shall protect and safeguard human dignity and reinforce the social determination for development | Relief channelled through EGS | DPPC monitoring reports, BoPED, NGOs |
| Disaster prevention programmes shall be given due emphasis in all spheres of development endeavours | Presence of relief plan in line department annual plans. | EC EGS reports, WFP, SCF (UK) and SOS Sahel reports. |
| All endeavours in relief programmes shall be geared to eliminate the root causes of vulnerability to disasters | Activities conducted. | EC EGS reports, DPPC Monitoring reports, UNEUE reports. |
| Best use of natural resource endowment of the areas shall be promoted | No and impact of micro watershed rehabilitation and development areas developed | BoA's, SAERT/SAERAR, Regional Food Security Units, EC EGS, WFP 2488, SCF-IFSP reports. |

What these results clearly show is the need for a range of indicators to be used and for the involvement of many stakeholders at federal regional and international levels. This raises the question of coordination, the costs of monitoring and of the availability of the data needed for undertaking such an exercise. Officials interviewed from DPPC, the regional Bureaus of Planning and Economic Development and international organisations were unaware of the existence of sufficient base line data within which to even commence such a monitoring exercise.

However, clearly the Government have mitigated certain periods of livelihood stress and wide scale food insecurity have, according to a number of observers, been averted in 1994 and again in 2001. The impact of 1 million metric tonnes of relief food assistance must have had an impact on livelihoods, even if it can not be quantified. DPPC officials were however at pains to point out that additional policy achievements also need to be acknowledged including the extent to which the policy encouraged relief assistance to be channelled through EGS in an attempt to develop drought-proofing initiatives in areas cyclically affected by shortage in rainfall. However, again, a number of key informants commented that the "relief resources are still not mainstreamed into the development process through mandated institutions and within a clearly defined procedural framework".

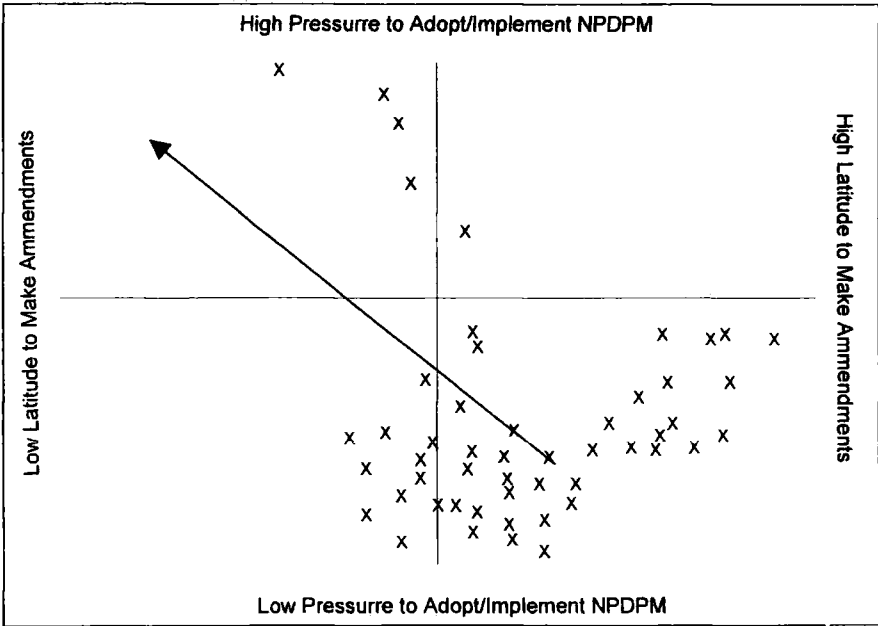
The ten key national policy objectives are underpinned by four equally important policy principles that should guide the decision making of all officials charged with policy implementation. These are that:

1. "the community shall play the leading role in the planning, programming, implementation and evaluation of all relief projects;
2. precedence shall be given to areas where lives and livelihoods are more threatened";
3. there shall be clearly defined focal points of action - centres of coordination shall be properly empowered at all levels.
4. relief must be addressed to the most needy at all times and no free distribution of aid be allowed to able-bodied affected population"

Research results show that out of 51 key informants with a formal responsibility for following up on EGS, from all levels of administration (federal, regional, Zonal and Woreda) only 36 per cent of senior government officials surveyed were acquainted with the Disaster Directives although of these 87 per cent felt them to be appropriate. Why then are the number of officials acquainted with the directives so low? This also assumes that those un-acquainted, are also therefore not implementing the policy as directed by the administration and in accordance with the guidelines. Figure 6.4 shows the results of policy uptake research with the 51 officials in they were requested to plot, on a blank paper providing the basic axis only, the pressure (high' or 'low') to adopt the policy as well as 'low' of 'high' latitude to make amendments at their particular level of implementation.

Of the officials interviewed there is a clear understanding that formal pressure to implement the policy remains low where as the ability to make amendments remains high. Such amendments also appear to include non adherence to policy directives or principles. Key informants and focal groups discussing the issues of policy adoption claimed that under whilst their respective institutions had a formal mandate for following up on EGS, the tasks required were not reflected in their particular job descriptions. As the two variables are clearly related and low pressure would appear to be linked to high capacity for amendment. Unfortunately, lack of pressure to meet performance criteria also includes variable wage payments, targeting measures, work performance monitoring, criteria for selection of EGS works amongst other elements.

Figure 6.4 Pressure to Implement the National Policy



In Maharashtra, pressure to adopt the EGS policy is high (statutory) and ability to make amendments was considered low. Clearly, in Ethiopia, a shift away from low policy adoption pressure and high ability to make amendments needs to be achieved if the policy is to be implemented in accordance with the policy measures and directives foreseen (depicted by the arrow above). In India, independent monitoring teams called “Vigilant Committees” monitor policy implementation at all levels of administration.

The results of the survey show that only 20 per cent of federal and regional officials and 10 per cent of Woreda officials interviewed had read either the federal (1996) or regional (2000) food security strategy documents. In addition, results show that only 52 per cent of those having read the FSS feel it appropriate to the specific context of Ethiopia and claimed that regional strategies needed to be prioritised to reflect the regionalisation of the policymaking process. Of the regional food security officials interviewed only 60 per cent had read the 2000 national Food Security programme document and only 52 per cent of those having done so found it appropriate for Ethiopia. This is surprising given that ANRS clearly drew linkages between the regional programmes, EGS and the FSS by stating that “EGS shall be considered as

initial entry points for food security program” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000). Key informants from the regional food security units, established from 1998 with the researcher as a key advisor, suggested that linkage between the NPDPM and Federal FFS need to be enhanced otherwise polarisation of different policy measures could eclipse the ability to achieve a clear policy direction for social protection. Quotes from the GoE (1996) food security strategy demonstrate the centrality of EGS as an important policy measure for hunger eradication. That officials remain largely unaware of such linkages is however a sobering reminder of the poor performance of public administration in institutionalising social protection policies.

“These schemes will be supplementary to the employment and income generation arising from economic growth, because that growth is not likely to be enough to transfer resources to the most vulnerable of the population. The schemes will be linked with priorities for rural areas, namely the food production/marketing and nutrition health focuses mentioned earlier, in that they will contribute to the construction of roads, small-scale irrigation, water supply and sanitation needed to increase food production, reduce real food prices, and improve health. They will also address environmental rehabilitation and protection through soil conservation. Rural roads and the small-scale water supply and supplementary irrigation catchment dams recommended earlier for the drier northern and north-eastern parts of the country would be prime parts of these employment generating programs. In urban areas, the programme would rehabilitate roads, construct public latrines, build flood control walls, and implement similar activities, some of which would be aimed at helping small traders and other entrepreneurs improve their business earnings. Experience has shown that some proportion of those employed on such projects sell some of the food they receive and purchase other complementary foods and household necessities. The lower real food prices arising from the agricultural production and marketing programs underpin such labour-intensive investments. Furthermore, such schemes enable the shift of food security assistance from relief to development. And finally, they address the targeting problem associated with all resource transfers. Except for persons unable to work (because of disabilities or age, for example), whose needs will be addressed under targeted programs, the vulnerable population is expected to surface through self-selection for employment in schemes to rehabilitate natural resources, or build economic and social infrastructure. This self-targeting would be achieved through distributing, in food-for-work schemes, foods generally eaten by the poor, or by offering cash wages at below market levels” (GoE, 1996)

“Within the reality of constrained budgets, priorities will have to be set for the additional programs. The overwhelming first priority is to establish firmly an *operational basic safety net*. This is to address the mandate stated clearly in the Government’s National Policy of Disaster Prevention and Management (September, 1993): “No human life shall perish for want of assistance in time of disaster.” The short-term objective of food entitlement is avoidance of death by starvation, while the longer-term aim is building the capacity of households, both rural and urban, to attain food security on their own. While holding or reducing real food prices (as noted above) is an important part of improving entitlements because of the resulting increases in real incomes, the main elements of the strategy include building the resource base of poorer rural households, increasing employment and incomes in both rural and urban areas, and providing targeted transfers to selected households in special poverty, or with special needs. The focus throughout the programs to increase food entitlement will be on the most vulnerable groups and households” (ibid, pg 28)

The 1999 regional food security strategies and associated programmes have been considered by many to provide an opportunity for the regionalisation of a federal policy guideline. However, at present, many aspects of the NPDPM and food security strategy are in complete contradiction and both lack coherent programme implementation strategies.

6.2.4 The National Policy Guideline

The guideline outlines policy implementation procedures to guide policy implementation. Dissemination and familiarisation of such a guideline throughout the appropriate levels of public administrations is therefore vitally important. However, survey results show that only 56 per cent of key regional government informants, dealing with the EGS programme, had read the 1997 EGS Guidelines by 2000 and only 48 per cent found them to be appropriate for Ethiopia. At the Zonal level only 12 per cent and at the Woreda level only 4 per cent of respondents claimed to have read the guidelines. This is concerning given that the National Programme Document states that the Woreda lies at the heart of the programme. Key informant interviews show that lack of formal dissemination through the administration hierarchy to be the main cause as lack of funds for translation and photocopying were not available. The Federal DPPC and regional DPPBs have not systematically provided copies of the guidelines to the administration although, through national workshops, the work of the CIDA funded Institutional Support Project (ISP) and the EC funded Promotional EGS informal dissemination has taken place. The ISP has provided funds to support DPPC in both translating guidelines into regional languages and also making copies. This is a vital input but one that arguably should have been funded by the government soon after the policy had been promulgated. Clearly, if the guidelines had been prepared in parallel with the policy in 1993 and formal dissemination taken place, awareness among officials would have improved increasing the overall effectiveness and efficiency of operations.

By way of contrast, under the Maharashtra EGS, all officials interviewed from state, division, district, Taluka and Panchayat levels were informed of all policy and guideline principles within a stipulated period not exceeding one month. Furthermore, and one of the more striking results, participating labourers claimed to have been informed of all EGS acts affecting their basic entitlements.

Clearly, the effectiveness of the EGS programme depends on the effectiveness of both democratic institutions and public administration. The results of the survey support the idea that legislature needs to be developed to allow policies to be formally adopted throughout administrations in an effective way. An interview with a senior EPRDF official, Sebhat Nega, he stated that 'without democratic and accountable institutions in place, democracy can not be attained'. This demonstrates the perceived importance of democratic and decentralised regional administrations in effective social service delivery.

6.2.4.1 EGS Objectives⁵⁷

Focal group discussion participants agreed that the objectives for both programmes are broadly similar in that they both focus on vulnerable group targeting, creating productive assets and reducing long term vulnerability. The study visit team, concluded that EGS should provide gainful and productive employment to people in rural areas who are in need of work and are prepared to do manual labour but cannot find it independently. Employment would have to be gainful to the individual and productive to the economy as a whole. The study participants postulated that both short and long term objectives could be clearly differentiated as shown in Figure 6.5 below.

Figure 6.5 EGS Objectives Linking Relief to Development (LRD)

| | | |
|------------|---|---|
| Short Term | ♦ | To provide gainful and productive employment through the provision of manual labour to vulnerable groups on a short term basis |
| Long Term | ♦ | To promote the creation of productive assets through the planning and implementation of decrease long term livelihood vulnerability |

Survey results show that the majority of Ethiopian government officials (77 per cent) interviewed stated that the present EGS objectives were appropriate for Ethiopia and that enactment of the policy was an important step in formalising a rather informal programme. Key informants reported that the objectives of the Ethiopian EGS need to highlight the linkage between activities conducted and improved rural livelihoods.

6.2.4.2 Linking Relief to Development

It was noted by one key informant that, 'everyone's responsibility is no ones responsibility' and this seems like a good starting point. The concept of LRD is driven by a desire to increase the effectiveness of emergency interventions through harnessing the labour potential provided through relief resources to create productive and enduring assets. The Maharashtra EGS is a 'demand driven self targeted' programme and physical planning targets are not fixed but depend on variations in labour demand increasing in slack agricultural periods or periods of food scarcity. At the time of conducting the study visit to Maharashtra in 1999 and 2000, the researcher ascertained that a total of 341,661 different work activities had been started under the EGS since its commencement in 1972 and out of these 323,262 (94 per cent) of the works were claimed to have been completed. In discussions with the then Minister of State, H.E. Shri B.S. Patil and Minister for EGS, H.E. Shri Shobhia Phadinis, it was made clear that the concept of LRD is not recognised as concept 'but rather a hard fact of implementation'. It was stated that the labour days employed on the programme since inception is 1,901,000,000 equivalent to 5,703,000 mt or 190,100 mt per annum, similar to the annual average food aid to Ethiopia. In terms of completed projects the status of programme implementation at the time of the last

⁵⁷ The remaining sections under the title EGS Guideline are the result of both study visits to Maharashtra, workshops at both federal and regional levels in Ethiopia and literature review.

visit of May 1999 showed that 11,000 percolation dams, 2000 small village tanks, 9,000 Kms road, 18,000 afforestation works, 10,000 wells and over 1 million hectares of horticultural plantation have been completed under the EGS programme. It is claimed by the Planning department of Maharashtra that as a result of the strong developmental linkage, the numbers of participants in EGS has fallen over the years from over 47 million person days in 1973 to 2 million person days in 1998. If taken at face value, this would appear to demonstrate that the potential impact that EGS can have if channelled through development activities is substantial.

The Ethiopian policy states that "maximum benefit shall be derived from the application of scarce resources by identifying linkage between current relief and future capabilities and use of preparedness as a tool for reinforcing the disaster proofing content (prevention) of relief measures". This is supported by the directive that "in planning and executing measures within their spheres all organs of the government and grass roots organisations of the community shall ensure that response to disaster contribute to ongoing development" (NPDPM. Pg 6). However, research results show that LRD is one of the more critical policy implementation failures although in Tigray alone the developmental objective is given parallel importance. Respondents supported the notion that unless a mandatory relationship is established between DPPC (as a relief institution) and the BoA and RRA etc. (developmental institutions) based on programming responsibilities for channelled resources, the linking of relief to development will remain entirely notional. Some respondents in MEDaC proposed that annual relief appeal resources could be channelled, not through DPPC but through the regional line departments and coordinated by the regional BoPED. At this stage it would appear that all organs of the government are not geared towards the implementation of the national policy.

In order to put flesh on the bones of the LRD concept, the Government, in its food security strategy, forwarded a number of key strategy directives, most of which have yet to materialise and as quoted in the 1996 food security strategy.

"The concept of *linking relief with development* is not a new one in Ethiopia. It has been discussed widely, and embraced by the Government when it made it focal to its National Policy of Disaster Prevention and Management. The underlying idea is to direct development towards reducing vulnerability, and relief towards enhancing long-term development. Such a course will increase substantially the return from food aid by using it to underpin the construction of the valuable assets. In the past, Ethiopia has received up to one million tons of food in a drought year, which has been used almost exclusively for distribution as relief. If used to support public works, it could pay for 300 million days of work at standard work norms, equivalent to more than one million people working for a year.... It is important to note that using food aid for development in this way incurs substantial additional costs over just distributing food. Among them are the additional calories of food energy required by persons engaged in work (perhaps up to 1,000 Kcals per day), the costs of planning and administering labour intensive public works efficiently, and the possible opportunity costs of investing in vulnerable people in resource poor areas if larger growth opportunities are foregone elsewhere in the economy. For all these reasons, it is crucial to ensure that the works undertaken have a good rate of return, are done as cost-effectively as possible, and above all that sound provisions are made to assure their sustainability.

Therefore the Government will develop new employment generation schemes with careful attention to all these matters. The Government will prepare a "shelf" of viable projects which can be undertaken during normal years and accelerated, where necessary, in years when lower rainfall or other shocks place many more people at risk for losing their access to food.. It is likely to take several years before the full-fledged programme is in place. This careful, deliberate elaboration of the employment programs is also mandated by the limited resources, and the need to give priority to a basic safety net for all people' (Pg 26-27, GoE FSS, 1996).

Respondents were shown the above text and requested to comment on the major problems encountered so far in LRD the results of which are summarised below:

- a) 92 per cent of GoE officials interviewed fully supported the concept;
- b) Respondents claimed that EGS projects should be afforded the same status as all development projects and that the follow up provided by line departments should be as intensive for EGS as for annually budgeted projects.
- c) 75 per cent of line department heads interviewed from Amhara and Tigray, responsible for EGS, felt that the institutional and organisational arrangements for EGS needed to be reformed;
- d) some 72 per cent of key informants felt there could be a stronger linkage between DPPC and the implementing line departments;
- e) 81 per cent felt that the BoA was insufficiently involved in planning EGS;
- f) 87 per cent that the regional RRA were also insufficiently involved;
- g) 73 per cent supported the potential involvement of the Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (BoLSA);
- h) 29 per cent claimed that BoPED also needed to be involved in planning despite the fact that it was not mandated under the NPDPM; and,
- i) some 44 per cent of federal and regional officials interviewed favoured DPPC and 40 per cent favoured MEDaC as an umbrella organisation to assist in linking relief resources to developmental ends;
- j) However, 16 per cent of key informants favoured that the overall coordination of the federal EGS programme and NPDPM should be the formal responsibility of the PMO as it should be considered a special programme; and
- k) 91 per cent of GoE officials interviewed felt that NGO's (international and national) had an important role to play in the planning of EGS from a more development perspective.

Figure 6.6 presents the results of a survey of the 55 senior government officials involved in the planning and implementation of EGS in Ethiopia. A matrix of institutional responsibilities by institution was prepared in accordance with the prescribed responsibilities provided in the EGS Guideline. The shaded areas mark the formal EGS activity responsibility mandated to each stakeholder and the numbers represent the numbers of respondents marking against each box. The results demonstrate a relatively clear understanding of EGS responsibilities at all levels with the exception that there is confusion as to Zonal level responsibilities. Respondents considered that the Zones should bare most responsibilities including the preparation of shelf projects, implementation and generating project ideas, all of which, according

to the guideline, should be conducted at the Woreda and community level. The same misconception applied to regional level where it is also claimed that regional sectoral bureaus are responsible for lower level administrative planning. It is also mistakenly claimed by many that DPPC generates ideas, elaborates shelf projects and implements. The results show continued ambiguity in understanding formal roles and responsibilities again undermining the clear implementation of LRD.

Figure 6.6 Understanding of Institutional Responsibilities for EGS Implementation⁵⁸

| EGS Activity Responsibility | Community | Woreda DPPC | Woreda Line | Department | NGO | Grassroots Level NGO | Zonal DPPC | Zonal DPPD | Zonal Sectoral Line | Regional DPPC | Regional DPPB | Regional | Federal DPPC |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----|----------------------|------------|------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|----------|--------------|
| Releases National Relief Resources | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | | | | | |
| Approves Regional EGS/RP | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocates Regional Resources | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reviews Zonal plans/prepares RP | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | | | | | |
| Approves Zonal EGS/RP | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | | |
| Reviews Woreda plans | | 8 | | | | | 20 | 4 | 16 | 4 | | | |
| Compiles Zonal EGS/RP | | | | | | | 4 | | | 12 | | | |
| Approves Woreda EGS/RP | 4 | 20 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocates Woreda Resources for RP | | 10 | | | | | 20 | 8 | 4 | | | | |
| Compiles Woreda RP | 4 | 32 | 20 | | | | 4 | 8 | 4 | | | | |
| Implements EGS | 20 | 12 | 4 | | | | | | 12 | | | 8 | 4 |
| Prepares EGS Shelf Projects | 16 | 12 | | | | | | | 4 | | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Compiles Annual Contingency Plan | 4 | 16 | 16 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | 12 | | 12 | 8 | |
| Elaborates/Updates shelf projects | | 12 | | | | | | | 20 | | | 12 | |
| Generates Project Ideas | | 16 | | | | | | | 8 | | | 12 | |

⁵⁸ Results from institutional matrices analysis of 55 senior federal, regional administration, Zonal and Woreda Staff from federal level (DPPC, MEDaC), Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray National Regional States. RP = relief plan

6.2.4.3 Funding and Resources

Findings suggest that because the programme is largely funded from un budgeted food aid transfers⁵⁹ and not cash, effective programming is being undermined. In Maharashtra, EGS funding is provided almost exclusively in cash although food transfers have been made through a system of fair price shops to provides those with 'yellow cards' (assessed as being below poverty line) access to subsidised items. In order to raise resources for the implementation of the scheme, the State Government has made national provisions for resources stemming from two distinct sources. The government collects EGS revenue from both EGS levied special taxes as well as by allocating a matching fund of independent government resources. No international donors are supporting the programme.

Taxation derived revenue guarantees the availability of EGS cash resources on an annual basis. The revenue collected constitutes the Employment Guarantee Fund (EGF) which is held in the main corpus and disbursed based on requests from district collectors. Planning officials stated that "if the EGF were to be insufficient to fund the labour demand⁶⁰ under the programme the state government ear-marks additional resources for any prospective budgetary short fall". So far, such contingencies have not been needed and a budget surplus has existed since 1979. According to figures provided during fieldwork, the annual budget for the Maharashtra programme is in the order of US \$100 million which equals about 60 million labour days annually.

The Ethiopian policy Guideline stipulates that EGS is to be supported by relief food assistance and a matching capital budget for planning and implementation. The latter has not been established undermining the effectiveness of the EGS works themselves. The guideline states that:

"For EGS activities taken up in response to a disaster or an imminent threat identified by the EWS, wage costs are met from relief resources. The costs of non-wage inputs which are not covered by existing, budgeted resources available to the implementing agency, may be met, within the limits of available resources, from or the NDPPF or other (including regional) relief sources. NGOs are responsible for mobilising/providing the resources for project activities that are proposed and implemented by them with the approval of the relevant LD and the WDPPC. In other cases, an NGO and the relevant LD may provide complementary inputs for a joint project" (pg. 9., DPPC, 1997)

Research shows that only 12 per cent of key informants felt that EGS should be purely funded through relief food resources whereas most (92 per cent) held a preference for cash based transfers to be adopted, by government and donors, as a principle modus

⁵⁹ The real cost of food aid assistance includes the value of the food plus international shipping, internal transport, storage, handling and housing and other less definable community based transactions costs. In reality, the 'food' in 'food aid' represents only 30-40 per cent of the value of the total pledge. Cash based transfers with low transactions costs need to be encouraged.

⁶⁰ In principle, the EGS Guideline stipulates that relief resources are programmed on the basis of an Employment Needs Assessment (ENA). However even senior FDDPC officials are aware that this particular caveat of the guideline is not in operation.

operandi and a supporting EGS budget to be provided to line departments tasked with overseeing the implementation of GES works. Key informants acknowledged that EGS in Ethiopia is not funded comprehensively as detailed in the Guideline and that neither regional resources or resources from the fund are presently available. According to the internal DPPC study visit report, it is stated that in Maharashtra, availability of local funding resources has made EGS resourcing sustainable, reliable and it allows for guaranteed employment to the rural poor" (ibid. Pg. 19)

The results of survey work show that lack of capital input funding for EGS is seen as a major programme constraint as 88 per cent of sample groups 1, 2 and 3 were concerned that capital inputs were not provided by the government as a matching resource although it was also stated that 92 per cent felt that donor 'emergency contributions' should also include a matching capital input to allow for successful project implementation. This would enable the ratio of labour to capital (70:30) as cited within the policy and guidelines to be met. Some 66 per cent of key informants also stated that such capital funds could in the near future be derived through taxation as in Maharashtra although this would be difficult to achieve unless the fiscal situation of Ethiopia were to dramatically improve.

Results of focal group discussions with the regional food security units, BoPED and NGOs in Amhara and Tigray that:

- a) at present regional line departments are not making budget provisions for EGS;
- b) the National Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Fund (NDPPF)⁶¹, which was originally envisaged as a matching capital fund has been established by DPPC although fund disbursements are not so far effective;
- c) 94 per cent of key informants urged the government to urgently establish the fund, rules and operation procedures
- d) 84 per cent of line department heads interviewed felt that a secure annual budget provision for EGS was essential.
- e) Some 91 per cent of informants desired the evolution of the present EGS into a formal safety net programme based on the objectives outlined above;
- f) Respondents stated that the Ethiopian programme was overly dependent on donor funding and that food aid, being broadly classified as un-programmable, does not assist line department in planning or implementing shelf projects to absorb labour demand.

⁶¹ A scoping study for the fund, conducted by DPPC with external assistance in early 1999 remains to be finalised. Originally, the fund was designed so that each region was formally mandated a 'withdrawal right' depending on the severity of the disaster. The fund was to be managed by a board which remains to be operational although recent discussion indicates that it may function in a similar way to the EFSRA. Research results show that the logistic capacity for handling food aid from port to distribution point is well developed as a result of twenty years of experience and huge investments, by both the government and international community. Sadly, the resource allocation procedure for EGS predominantly focus on resources derived through suffering - relief.

The study visit report of the DPPC stated that “In Ethiopia EGS resources are not sustainable and reliable as they are always expected to come from donors. To this effect employment could not be generated in problem areas in time and as needed. Therefore local funding raising systems or mechanisms should be strengthened (if any) or the creation of alternative local fund raising system is imperative” (ibid. Pg 19). Participants of the study visits stated that they would urge the Government to shift towards a regular budgetary contribution, possibly through the new NDPF, to assist regions in planning and implementing successful EGS projects as originally prescribed under the directives. Complimentary funding for EGS might eventually be covered by either the federal or regional governments as revenue targets increase freeing up budget constraints. Key informants also agreed that despite the lack of funding for EGS the improved use of external food aid assistance through better coordination, planning and implementation capacities was urgently needed. In order to solve resourcing problems the following strategy was proposed by ANRS food security unit during an exchange of letters with the researcher. To overcome the “lack of complimentary resources for EGS: a) Complimentary resource budgeting by government and donors; b) Establishment of a separate fund for EGS. And to overcome the uncertainty of resources for EGS: a) Improve planning for EGS by distinguishing between chronic and transitory food insecurity; b) concentrating on micro projects; c) multi annual commitments; d) relief appeals and EGS plans should not be based on 2,100 Kcal per person per day” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000)

6.2.4.4 Targeting⁶²

The achievement of NPDPM objectives demands careful targeting of relief and non-relief transfers so that the poorest are not excluded (errors of exclusion) and wealthier groups included (errors of inclusion).^{63,64} Poor targeting procedures and practice increase errors of inclusion and exclusion and both errors decrease the effectiveness of transfer operations. Two basic targeting options are reviewed in the guideline: administrative targeting (of which community targeting a form of administrative targeting) and self-selection (self-targeting). Presently targeting in Ethiopia is acknowledged to be ‘*administrative*’ in the sense that selection of EGS participants is carried out by Administrative Targeting Body (ATB) at the Kebele level. The guideline states that ‘administrative targeting is applied in most situations’ and that ‘self targeting may be applied in special cases’. Moreover, it is also stated that ‘the WDPPC decides the system to be used within the framework of the criteria specified in this chapter and any specific guidance from the Regional Government. Where

⁶² This research focuses on project level discussion of EGS targeting and not of issues of area targeting. However, research shows that most (82 per cent) of GoE officials interviewed stated that the watershed and not administrative unit should be used as the basis for rural development and EGS planning.

⁶³ Logically, the value of exclusion errors should be equal to the value errors of inclusion as the relationship is clearly an inverse one.

⁶⁴ Credible concerns of high errors of exclusion and inclusion (of up to 60 per cent) have been widely reported by the Grain Market Research Project (GMRP). By way of contrast, the Maharashtra EGS works through ‘*self-selection*’ targeting procedures and is therefore driven by the unmet labour demand or vulnerable households.

found appropriate, a combination of administrative and self-targeting may be used' (pg 38, DPPC, 1997). The guideline therefore focuses on administrative targeting almost closes the option for self-selection, in direct contradiction to the preferred targeting option stated in the national food security strategy.

DPPC officials claimed that self-targeting is not used as it is assumed that as labour demand is price elastic, demand for employment would outstrip available resources. This argument is considered incomplete as by focusing on cash and not food transfers (therefore doubling the labour days to be provided because of savings from lower transactions costs), and by reducing the payment rate to a below market wage, but extending the period of work to a minimum of 30 days this would surely regulate labour demand and lead to the de facto targeting of the poorest and most needy. Key informants and monitoring reports demonstrate that in many regions the relief transfer payment of 3 Kg per person is above the agricultural wage for the area and accordingly, relief is often a preferred employment opportunity for rural households. Calls for an increase in food wage transfers from 3 to 4 Kg per person day, to better reflect the nutritional requirements of LIPW, would only enhance the targeting problem and increase errors of inclusion and exclusions.

It was postulated in focal group discussions that despite the dominance of administrative targeting procedures, self-selection could be embraced as a principle of democracy where the right to receive 'open welfare entitlements' through targeted transfer programmes such as EGS is upheld by the constitution. This would be line with the Federal FSS where it is stated that: 'targeting would be through self-selection, wherever possible; and (iii) a distinction would be made between those in the vulnerable groups who are likely to be able to provision themselves in the short to medium term, and those who are a long way from being able to provision themselves' (pg. 25, GoE, Federal Food Security Strategy, 1996). The DPPC study visit report, prepared as a response to the study visits, also reasserts the idea that self-selection should be embraced and therefore representing a clear transgression from former guideline recommendations "it was learnt that self-targeting is appropriate provided that resource constraints do not exist as it minimises errors of exclusion, the administrative costs of targeting, favouritism etc. The determination of poverty line demarcation helped much in targeting areas where the most disadvantaged people are living" (pg 19, DPPC, 2000).

However, despite this assertion, Federal DPPC clearly still encourages regional administrations to decentralise appropriate targeting options to their specific context whether 'administrative' or 'self targeted'. DPPC officials stated that "provided that sufficient resources are available, opportunities should be given to regional governments to fix minimum wage rates and select targeting approach that suits their particular regional context" (ibid). This challenge has so far not been implemented by the different regional administrations however, post study visit recommendations made by Amhara National Regional State clearly support a reformist approach to present administrative targeting because of concerns over targeting errors.

“Targeting of beneficiaries to this date shows both exclusion and inclusion problems. These are caused mainly caused by lack of participation by beneficiaries, absence of regular monitoring, lack of clearly (legally) indicated accountability, and absence of specific targeting instruments. To minimise the problem: it should be important to encourage community participation, make Woreda and Kebele level administration legally responsible for targeting problems, install a regulation and supervision system through Woreda Councils, Develop National and Regional Targeting instruments” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000).

The results of surveys conducted into targeting show the following:

- a) most (65 per cent) favoured ‘self targeted’ EGS interventions where as 35 per cent favoured continuing with the present ‘administrative’ targeting approach;
- b) fewer than half (45 per cent) had experienced self-targeting interventions whereas over 90 per cent had direct experience of administrative targeting
- c) 30 per cent stated that it was currently not possible to move to a self-targeted approach to EGS and most (91 per cent) cited the lack of guaranteed relief and other resources as the main limitation;
- d) that 80 per cent of key informants interviewed felt that the application of a ‘*below market*’ wage for self-targeting would not necessarily create major nutritional complications (for the excluded under self targeting arrangements) and would in fact decrease overall errors of exclusion/inclusion;
- e) 78 per cent of key informants had a clear preference for prioritising poor landless households over poor landed households.

The fear expressed about self selection is that if employment opportunities are presented as ‘open entitlements’ (as in Maharashtra) in a country where 60 per cent fall below the poverty line the rush for work placements could not be met because of resource constraints. In focus group discussions, it was observed by participants that both administrative and self-targeting procedures offered fundamentally different potentials for EGS and it was suggested that a move towards self-targeting, should be considered if the following pre-conditions could be met: a) increase in EGS resource guarantees based on chronic needs; b) below market wage transfer criteria need to be established; c) increased capacity for supervision and regulation to be built; and, d) a detailed ‘self-selection’ manual to be developed and disseminated.

Given the complexity of targeting issues the Federal DPPC opted in 2000 for the development of a ‘National Targeting Guideline’ (NTG) based on targeting research conducted by SCF (UK) in 1996 and 1997. The preparation process was coordinated by a Steering Committee of which the researcher was the EC representative. Results show that 89 per cent of federal and regional officials interviewed stated that such a guideline would be beneficial and would allow the principles of targeting to be clearly disseminated and errors minimised. A summary of the principles of targeting for EGS, as contained in the draft NTG of May, 2000, is presented below.

“Wherever possible, EGS should be used as a channel for delivering relief resources to disaster affected or food insecure areas and households/individuals. Multi-year funding should be made available to

promote activation in the earliest stages of an emergency; b) after the disaster period, relief resources may be replaced by regular development budgets or community mobilisation. But relief resources should continue for a "grace period" to allow for smooth transition; c) the length of the "grace period" should be determined locally and should take into account resource availability; d) when relief resources become available, EGS projects should be implemented on a priority basis, as determined by the community; e) of non-relief resources become available, for example, through the Bureau of Agriculture, priority projects may be taken from the EGS shelf projects for implementation during normal times. In this case, however, an additional study may be necessary to raise the standard of project preparation; f) the community should play a paramount role in the planning and implementation of all relief resource utilisation, EGS projects in particular; g) the community should play a major role in defining targeted beneficiaries for EGS. These may include households those that: have able-bodied labour available to participate in EOS. The individuals should be; between 18-60 years of age; are resident in a disaster-affected or food insecure area for a length of time; as determined by the Kebele (12 months, after the EGS Guidelines); are recognised by the host community as displaced; are unable to meet their basic food needs due to the effects of disaster or food insecurity; are accepted by the community as fitting additional established (local) criteria. F) EGS projects should not discourage or obstruct viable economic activities in the community. These include: Farming and livestock husbandry, Employment in the private sector, Habitual labour migration; G) Lessons learned and explanations of successful techniques used in pilot EGS projects should be widely disseminated and shared among regions". Source: Unpublished National Food Aid Targeting Guidelines, DPPC, (May, 2000)

6.2.4.5 Wage Transfer Options

The EGS Guidelines acknowledge the importance of a broad based approach to funding EGS where the quality and usefulness of outputs depend largely on proper management and planning. Planning of EGS involves input provision for wage and non-wage transfers including labour, tools, equipment, machinery, transport and training costs. It is stated that 'wages will be paid in food grain or in cash depending on the resources available at the time' and that wage inputs should be calculated in PDs and based on a daily rate of 3 kg per work norm output. However, given that EGS is largely resourced from relief food assistance covering fixed wage costs only, the failure to finance non-wage inputs has clearly affected the productivity of project outputs.

The payment rate is fixed by the EGS Guidelines at 3 Kg per person day based on a piece rate although monitoring reports from NGOs show significant variations exist ranging from 1-6 kg depending on food and labour demand and supply. Another element that was noted was that the food security reserve, from where payments are made, holds, wheat, sorghum and maize and accordingly the values of these essentially different commodities differs thus a de facto wage differential is created. Research into options for a cash based transfer social protection mechanisms have failed to provide comprehensive recommendations however focus group participants

noted that a shift to cash would be broadly welcomed if donors were able to fund such operations.⁶⁵

Under the Maharashtra programme cash based transfers, occasionally supported by targeted in kind subsidies, has been the major mode of implementation. Wages are based on the minimum wage that is set below local agricultural wages but above the minimum natural wage to achieve nutritional security. In areas where food is either expensive or not easily available, a public distribution system for food - equivalent to fair price (subsidised staples) shops - effectively operates. The objective of cash based transfers is to boost purchasing power and thereby assist in developing rural food markets. Wages are fixed at around US\$ 1 per day. Wage and non-wage inputs are regulated by government orders and acts and are mandatory.

The results of survey work provided the following results and build on the main issues highlighted above:

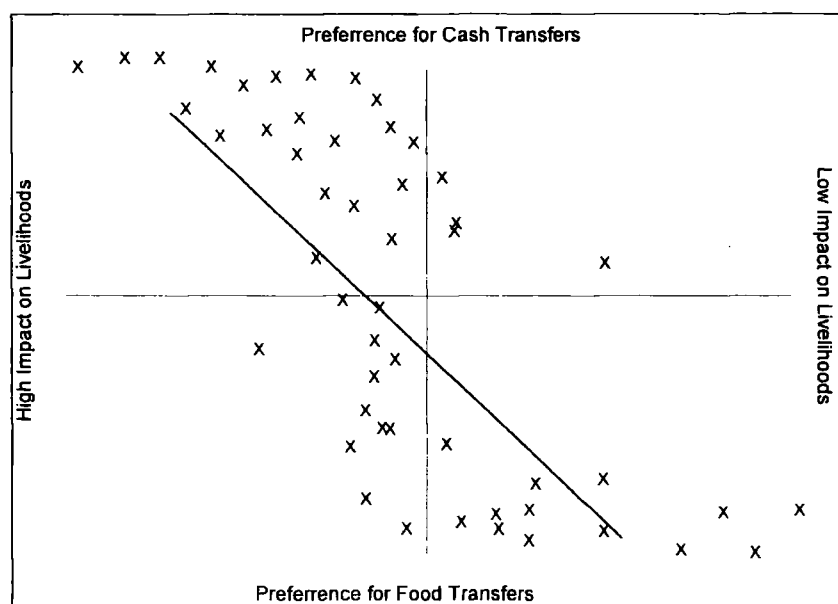
- a) only 34 per cent of respondents in Amhara and Tigray had experienced cash transfer mechanisms although some 77 per cent favoured a move to cash based transfers;
- b) 79 per cent of respondents had direct implementation experience of food based EGS.
- c) All those interviewed felt that cash transfers would have a beneficial effect on mitigating building rural livelihoods;
- d) market distortions would be relatively insignificant compared to the negative price deflationary impact of food aid;
- e) Again 77 per cent of key informants claimed that food aid created 'dependency' where as only 18 per cent claimed that cash would given that cash based employment was seen by local communities as a development not welfare programme;
- f) 87 per cent of respondents favoured not provisioning relief food above the agricultural wage; and,
- g) 56 per cent of key informants felt that there was a fear that the utilisation of cash based transfers would fall into the hands of the male household head and may not be utilised for food purchase to support nutritional levels.

⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that cash based transfers carry lower transaction costs (transport and associated costs for food aid equals 50 to 60 per cent of costs) than food aid and therefore the number of labour days that can be supported through cash are doubled. It was noted that the cost of food aid only (US\$ 120/Mt) as a percentage of the total cost of food aid (transport, ITSH costs etc. = US\$ 250/Mt) were presented and broad agreement was reached that the regions would prefer to move to cash for work even as a general response to emergencies to increase purchasing power of vulnerable communities. In addition, the cost of the reserve is high whereas cash receives interest. The European Commission has firmly endorsed the cash based transfers as a new policy under Council of Ministers Proclamation 1292/96. However, despite the desire of local food security officials to adopt wide scale cash based EGS, the total value of cash transfers remains low. However, this will change as the capacity and experience, both within the EC and local government administrations, increases. The researcher is currently research coordinator for a large cash/in kind transfer study for the EC.

There appeared to be a ground swell of support for cash based transfers as a result of the EC funded EGS programmes in Amhara and Tigray (where the researcher was the coordinator) and where cash transfers have been met with support from both communities and public administrations. Such experience has prompted, for example, Amhara Food Security Coordination Office to state that “Cash for work is preferred to food for work...cash for work is basically market based and hence rural markets shall be strengthened ... adequate accounting and controlling instruments shall be developed for both cash for work and food for work... however, for food donors, monetisation of food shall be considered” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000).

The main challenge facing the adoption of cash transfers is not the payment policy of the GoE but rather the general reluctance of donors (as ascertained by the researcher in the donors food security and agricultural committee) to provide cash support given that cash is considered more fungible and therefore open to corruption. However, while the mode of payment remains varied and contested, other considerations need to be raised with specific regard to the value of payments. Given the additional energy requirements needed to participate in LIPW there is broad international consensus that the minimum natural wage would need to be set above the present 2,100 Kcal (or an equivalent of 3 Kg of cereal aid) as energy expenditure increases above the natural work level. Calls for a wage rate of 4 Kg in kind or cash equivalent are pertinent although this would clearly create targeting problems unless the number of days worked were made more flexible. Discussions with SOS Sahel in Kindo Koisha for example showed that 4 kg was used as a standard payment ration. However, of those interviewed only 40 per cent of regional officials favoured an increase in payments to stop the wage being above the present aggregated agricultural wage rate and therefore act as a disincentive for on farm agricultural employment. A preference ranking exercise was set for regional and federal officials attending the study visits to Maharashtra. The preferences were ranked as a preference for food or cash and whether this would have a high or low impact on livelihoods. The results are presented in Figure 6.7 below.

Figure 6.7 Preference for Wage Payment Options (Cash/food) and Livelihood Impact



Of great significance here is that despite cash and food payments almost receiving the same preference amongst respondents, the results show that the perception was that cash based transfers would have a greater impact on rural livelihoods.

6.2.4.6 Sectoral Interventions Under EGS

The concept of LRD demands the creation of productive works that lead to a shift up the livelihood scale and an overall reduction in entitlement decline. This covers the developmental side of EGS where asset creation is at the centre of the overall philosophy. It remains clear (as explored in chapter 4) that profit = savings = investment = economic growth = capital asset growth and improved rural livelihoods. Anything less than achieving this logical causal chain in terms of productivity growth underscored the value of adopting EGS as a focal policy. Moreover, regional LOGframe planning participants stated that a fundamental limit to the process of agricultural development in Ethiopia is the predominant focus on conservation activities that fail to enhance rural livelihoods because conservation by itself is insufficient to kick start productivity growth. Under the Ethiopian EGS Guideline the following tentative sectoral allocations are proposed to enable this productivity linkage:

“It may also be appropriate to maintain a balance in the allocation of resources to different sectors, considering relief and development resources combined. The following proportions are suggested but may be modified to the needs of each area: 45 per cent for environmental protection and rehabilitation works – SWC, forest development etc; 30 per cent for water resource development works – dams, irrigation, flood protection etc; 15 per cent for rural roads and other related infrastructure; and, 10 per cent for social sector development works such as schools, health facilities, etc.” (Pg. 35, DPPC EGS Guideline, 1997).

While many of these elements might lead to increased natural resource management they are not guaranteed to lead the build up of livelihood capital assets unless a unifying rural development concept, such as integrated micro watershed development, is to be institutionalised. The approach taken in the guideline is prescriptive as it is under the Maharashtra EGS. Respondents suggested that no clear agreement between officials on which sectoral interventions should be prioritised exists as each intervention should be both contextualised and localised. However, given that food security is a livelihood issue, it seems desirable to focus on interventions that maximise short term employment and maximise longer term productivity. It is acknowledged that local conditions and priorities need to form the basis of the decision making process in order to advocate a specific intervention. It is stated that:

“Decisions on the selection of project activities should be transparent and taken on the basis of priorities agreed by the community taking account of the particular conditions of the area”. “Decisions on the selection of project activities should be transparent and taken on the basis of priorities agreed by the community taking account of the particular conditions of the area” (ibid. Pg. 33)

ANRS food security coordination office supports this call for contextualisation and community consultation and in fact states that as long as the productivity focus is central to the activity...“Sectors included in the Ethiopia EGS guideline are diversified. This diversity shall continue. The priority for EGS project shall be contingent on local conditions this being the foundation for every successful project” .. “Water harvesting techniques shall be given priority” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000).

However, survey and key informant results show that two interventions were clearly preferred a) rural road networks (inter-regional, inter-Zonal and inter-Woreda) and, b) integrated micro watershed development (land use planning, SWC works, Irrigation; percolation dams; social forestry; community water supplies and other extension based services. All projects implemented are, in the light of the policy, need to be productive in nature and lead directly to economic growth. Productive projects absorb seasonal labour through the creation of private, not community based, assets. Research showed that in Maharashtra, the following programme components are prioritised through EGS:

- a) Horticulture Programme
- b) Internal Road Programme
- c) Million Wells Scheme (Jawahar)
- d) Agriculture and Watershed Interventions
- e) Irrigation Programme
- f) Social Forestry

Key informants attending the study visits stated that EGS programmes need to focus on rural economic infrastructure and move away from large scale works on common land to develop household production and livelihoods. Recommendations were made in seminar work for adoption of a more integrated approach to watershed management funded through EGS resources to steadily minimise the present piece meal conservation driven approach. It was agreed among officials to develop models of the watershed approach, linking conservation with production and the researcher played a key role in this regard.

6.2.4.7 Contingency Planning and Shelf Projects

The guideline advises that shelf projects, prepared by line departments, are aggregated into ‘EGS Packages’ ready for quick implementation according to labour demand. However, the seemingly perfect simplicity of the response mechanism is undermined by lack of planning preparedness by all line departments, those from Amhara in particular being no exception. Officials claimed that this resulted from poor institutional capacities in planning and lack of matching capital inputs. Under the guideline, the following shelf project preparation procedures are forwarded, largely based on the Maharashtra experience.

“When need arises, a set of employment generation schemes -- an EGS Package -- must be drawn up for each affected Woreda, and be approved by the WDPPC. This could include a combination of, in order of preference:

adapting ongoing labour-intensive projects; adapting and initiating already-budgeted new development projects; adapting and initiating planned (not yet budgeted) development projects; selecting and initiating activities from shelf projects; preparing new proposals (in the absence of any of the above for a target area).... All EGS proposals must: be integrated with -- contribute to -- established development plans; be designed to meet the assessed priority needs for temporary employment in the target localities; take account of the non-wage inputs (skilled manpower, equipment, funds, etc.) that would be required and likely to be available, and make cost-effective use of those resources; and, take account of experience and lessons learned from previous EGS, FFW and other labour-intensive activities in the area". (Pg 32, EGS Guideline, DPPC, 1997)

In Maharashtra, shelves of projects equalling 200 per cent of expected annual labour demand are prepared by line department as part of its annual planning responsibilities and EGS resources are pre-positioned based on expected EGS project demand and uptake. Preparedness was observed by all study visit participants as being the linkage between the relief needs and development response. Results of the DPPC study visit report state that:

"Blue print shelf projects, annual plans and the accumulation of locally raised funds are sound preparedness measures that helped Maharashtra implement EGS whenever employment is demanded by the rural poor" (pg 19, DPPC, 2000).

This concession has led the DPPC participants to observe that options for increased preparedness could be based on a more systematic and institutionalised approach to planning as is stated below.

"Blueprint shelf projects/annual plans should always be prepared and shelved in line departments offices or in the offices of co-ordinating bodies in order to take up EGS works whenever employment is needed and resources are available. In this connection all concerned bodies should be trained and made well aware of EGS objectives principles and comparative advantages" (ibid. Pg 20).

To understand the current status with regard to contingency planning for EGS works, results of survey work and participant observation confirmed that:

- a) shelves of projects and EGS packages are not routinely prepared by line departments at any level and this alone undermines both the prevention and preparedness capacities of the NPDPM;
- b) that fewer than 5 per cent of officials claimed the existence of shelf projects in their Woredas that could be quickly mobilised for implementation;
- c) 95 per cent) of key informants stated a preference for making line departments legally mandated for the drawing up of EGS contingency plans and shelf project through the provision of an enacted policy.
- d) resource constraints and institutional capacities will need to be overcome if meaningful rural development planning is to be conducted;

- e) the preparation of shelf projects in Ethiopia differs from region to region as no legal guideline regulates their preparation;
- f) in most cases projects are only designed once the EGS resource has become available;
- g) Contingency planning is conducted in Tigray, although not in Amhara.
- h) 94 per cent of officials interviewed confirmed that the DPPC should clearly disaggregate between chronic and transitory food insecurity so as to allow for a formal EGS programme and proactive and not retroactive approach to planning. In other words, EGS needs to be funded under the regular budget.

In an internal ANRS report to the EC it is stated that “shelf projects are not prepared on time and project quality is low and unrelated with on going development. Plans are not coordinated, checked, monitored and reports are not addressed to donors. Lack of awareness about the importance of shelf projects and their associated problems is critical” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000).

In view of this, ANRS recommends that “the planning capacity of Woreda staff, especially the development agent, shall be strengthened. To solve these problems, in case of an emergency or targeted program, EGS shall be part of annual plan and institutions for coordination, plan revision, consolidation and reporting is required” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000)... and that “the Woreda Council should be legally responsible for shelf project preparation and adequate staffing shall be guaranteed” (Pg 28, ANRS, 2000).

A research seminar conducted by the researcher with regional officials from Amhara concluded that the contents of the present contingency plans were insufficient and that preparation of shelf projects, as part of the development plan, need to be conducted in advance of confirmed pledges. The aim eventually is develop shelf projects equal to at least 100 per cent of the expected forthcoming annual demand so that resource and field based planning can be effectively conducted. Officials stated that Criteria for the selection of shelf projects as presented in the EGS guideline need to be adapted by the regions and that EGS projects need to be integrated into ongoing development plans so as to assist in making linkages that lead eventually to production and decreased dependency.

6.2.4.8 Monitoring and Evaluation⁶⁶

Monitoring and evaluation are of course key regulatory functions that need to be conducted on a regulator basis and within a regulated framework. Community

⁶⁶ *Monitoring* is the regular review of progress in implementation to determine whether, and to what extent, input deliveries, activities and outputs are proceeding as planned and scheduled, so that timely decisions and corrective measures can be taken, when necessary, to bring the scheme back on course or, exceptionally, to revise the plan. *Evaluation* is the systematic analysis of the effects/impact of activities, the extent to which objectives are met and the efficiency of the use of resources. Its purpose is to learn lessons to be applied during the remainder of the scheme (ongoing evaluations conducted during implementation) and to future schemes (ex-post evaluation on closure).

involvement is also critical as both primary and secondary stakeholder assessment allows the value of different perspectives to be expressed. Monitoring and evaluation of EGS requires the selection of clearly defined and objectively verifiable indicators within which the achievement of specific purposes can be assessed. According to the DPPC EGS Guideline the purposes of monitoring and evaluation are expressed as follows:

“The ultimate purposes of monitoring and evaluation are: to ensure that the objectives of each EGS are achieved in terms of (i) providing timely employment for selected, eligible beneficiaries, and (ii) producing useful physical outputs; *and* to ensure accountability and the effective use of resources. Monitoring and Ongoing Evaluation is a continuous process through which work teams, scheme supervisors/managers and communities as well as LDs and DPP committees at all levels analyse (i) what has been accomplished, (ii) the effects/impact to date, and (iii) any difficulties encountered, in order to improve performance and, if necessary, revise any of the planned activities or schedules in order to achieve the overall objectives” (Pg. 60, EGS Guideline, DPPC, 1997).

The study visits to Maharashtra highlighted that monitoring is routinely conducted at the level of the implementing line department, with few exceptions, and site visits demonstrated the importance of specific, measurable, available, reliable and timely monitoring indicators, though often proxy, to monitor not just physical progress but also rural livelihoods. In order to ensure satisfactory works under the EGS a ‘vigilance committee’ has been established under the EGS Act to oversee the quality of work and the enforcement of the different sub acts such as wage rate regulation and support for workers rights. The functions prescribed to the vigilance committee are as follows:

- a) The inspection and the vigilance duties are assigned at the divisional level to the Commissioner with the assistance of the Officer on special duty in each division. In addition to this, Collectors, Chief-Executive Officers of Zilla Parishads, Deputy Collectors, Tahasildars and Supervisory Officers of the implementing agencies are duly bound to supervise and inspect the EGS works, as per the norms prescribed.
- b) To minimise the potential for malpractice’s, the Divisional Commissioner has been given special powers. Further, a High Level Vigilance Committee under the chairmanship of Secretary (RE) has been constituted. Vigilance squads have also been constituted at District/Divisional and State levels and these were observed during field visits.

State Legislature has constituted a ‘Special Legislature Committee’ to examine, assess and evaluate the working of the State’s employment guarantee scheme, with special reference to benefits accrued to and the impact made on the people employed under the scheme, and to find out the deficiencies and shortcomings if any as well as to suggest measures to remove them and to improve the scheme. In practical terms, site visits demonstrated the strengths of the monitoring system. In each site date is collected in site monitoring field books on a weekly or monthly basis depending on

the nature of the intervention. The indicators are practical and easy to measure and verify. For example, the impact of percolation dams is assessed through measurement of the increase in ground water level, the numbers of wells now in use in the command area, the numbers of hectares now under production, location of new springs etc. However, despite the above legislation, few ex-post evaluations have been conducted scheme-wide and broader issues such as the reasons for the longer-term decline in demand for EGS remain un-evaluated. The monitoring process, as observed in the field was as follows:

- a) Monitoring and vigilance responsibilities are clearly mandated throughout the EGS organisational structure at the level of the Commissioner, Collector, Tahisals and vigilance committees.
- b) Monitoring involves assessment of inputs, processes and impact on livelihoods and production;
- c) A vigilance committee is responsible at all levels for checking the quality of works and for following up on complaints by EGS labourers;
- d) The planning department is responsible for providing weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual monitoring reports on all projects sanctioned by the collectors. All reports eventually filter up to the planning department at the state level. During the field visits copies of weekly EGS scheme updates were observed at all administrative levels.
- e) In addition, officers on special duty follow up on project implementation;

The monitoring process emphasises clear and verifiable indicators and field monitoring reports provide both base line data related to the conditions prior to implementation and ex-post evaluation. Results from participatory observation in Ethiopia, and confirmed by line department officials, show that lack of existing base line data and clearly defined monitoring indicators remain an ever-present problem in Ethiopia. As a result monitoring, even for day to day line department activities has not been institutionalised. The following extract from the federal DPPC on monitoring of EGS in Maharashtra, sums up the contextual comparison based on the practical experience of senior DPPC officials.

“In Maharashtra, EGS planning and implementation efforts are well monitored and inspected through vigilance squad and EGS committees established at various levels. Therefore, irregularities, misappropriations, dishonesty etc. are minimised and immediate corrective action is taken” (pg 19, DPPC, 2000).

During the study visit, key informants stated that project monitoring and vigilance are vital elements of the developmental process although EGS has tended to receive a ‘second class project status’ in Ethiopia as it is predominantly seen as a relief and not developmental intervention. One senior DPPC official commented that, based on the Indian experience, attempts to form a vigilance committee in Ethiopia was foreseen under the NPDPM and National Programme Documents however, regions saw federal involvement in programme monitoring as being unconstitutional. With regard to monitoring and evaluation, the results of various surveys show that:

- a) Respondents stated an urgent need to focus on the development of practical impact indicators for assessing the impact of EGS on livelihoods;
- b) It was clearly stated by 95 per cent of key government officials that routine project monitoring of EGS was 'never' conducted by their line departments and that accordingly it was neither possible to clearly determine programme impact or the achievement of NPDPM objectives;
- c) all those interviewed expressed a desire to develop specific EGS and food security related monitoring indicators and methods;
- d) institutional responsibility was unclear when 2 or more line departments were involved;
- e) Over 95 per cent of respondents favoured the development of useful proxy indicators for rural livelihood outcomes;
- f) the quality and level of monitoring appears to change between both departments and institutional levels although focus on input and process indicators, livelihood impact, predominate;
- g) productivity outcomes need to be measured if regions are to be eventually confident of the comparative advantage of particular interventions over and above other interventions;
- h) In spite of the EGS policy guideline presenting draft monitoring sheets for use by the regions, these were used and did not focus on monitoring livelihoods.

As EGS has not been institutionalised by the regions, local line departments are not always fully mandated to monitor EGS works although even DPPC, despite the absence of monitoring of EGS within their own institution, advocate that...

"EGS works, from their early stages of planning all the way through to implementation should be supervised and monitored through systems shown in the EGS guidelines, or any other mechanisms/systems that may be developed by the regions themselves. The regional government authorities at different levels (the chairpersons of the councils or their delegates) should co-ordinate this activity" (ibid. Pg 19).

Field visits showed that under the Maharashtra scheme, a three tier administrative set up has been evolved to ensure close and effective liaison and continuous supervision over the programme. Committees for Planning, Direction, Control and Co-ordination have been set up at the State, District and Panchayat Samiti level. At the State level, the Planning Department is in overall charge of the programme covering all aspects of planning, administration, provision of funds, monitoring and evaluation of the programme. The commissioner of the Revenue Division controls EGS works in the division. The collector is in overall charge of the programme and at Panchayat Samiti level (equivalent to PA level) the Tahasildars has been assigned the functions of the assessment of demand for employment and deployment of labourers on different works in the Panchayat Samiti area. The Planning Department makes a budget provision and releases the Quarterly Credit limits to the Collectors. Under the EGS the collectors have discretion to make further releases to the implementing agencies at the district level who in return release funds to the sub-divisional officer for payment

of expenses incurred on implementation of the works. An account of expenditure is required to be maintained by the implementing agencies at the primary and district units in accordance with the normal procedure laid down by the Government.

In Maharashtra, weekly and monthly progress report are a mandatory requirement for the EGS. These reports are sent by the implementing agencies to the collectors for onward transmission to the Planning Department. The information in regard to the number of works in progress, labour potential, labour attendance at the end of the week etc. is obtained in the weekly report. The number of works sanctioned, completed and in progress, employment potential of these works, actual Person Days (PDs) generated at the end of month, the total wage component of expenditure incurred during the month etc. are obtained in the monthly progress report. These reports are then made available for monitoring and evaluation purposes.

In the course of conducting fieldwork, the only monitoring undertaken for EGS in Ethiopia, by the Government, is the monitoring of food aid because, as one Zonal official from Amhara informed me, 'we are forced to provide food aid monitoring information because donors request it'. When asked why monitoring of EGS projects was not conducted he explained that monitoring figures were 'by and large not derived from the field' because 'it is possible, based on the volume of food being distributed, to calculate theoretical figures based on the standard line department work norms'. When asked if this was good practice he declined to answer.

In an attempt to establish a range of appropriate indicators for monitoring EC EGS projects, a participatory LOGframe and OPR workshop in Tigray, coordinated by the researcher, selected fourteen objectively verifiable monitoring indicators recommended for an integrated micro watershed development approach focused on asset creation. These proposed indicators formed the basic for monitoring the EC EGS programmes and are presented in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3 Proposed Monitoring Indicators for EGS Based Micro Watershed Interventions

-
- a) Access to resources by household heads: this includes access to land, livestock, forestry and means of production all quantified to current household use and ownership.
 - b) Incomes and expenditure by household and household members: Farm and non-farm incomes. Income/expenditure data through time series.
 - c) Household profiles: Individuals by age and sex specified, skills, farm and non-farm occupation.
 - d) Employment- household employment and labour utilisation in farm/non-farm occupations.
 - e) Social infrastructure- household level of ownership of material things other than means of production; physical social infrastructures including schools, clinics, recreation centres, etc.
 - f) Health and nutrition- composition of a typical week's (within seasons) nutrition profile a household level; general estimates of caloric consumption per person in community; common diseases
 - g) Output and productivity- total production for household within production year including information on fallow, pasture and forest lands; yield per hectare.
 - h) Pricing and marketing- pricing per unit per crop within a production year; amount of marketable surplus at household level; information on market structures, i.e. storage, market outlets, etc.
 - i) Inputs and services- amount per production year utilised of basic farm inputs-improved seeds, implements, chemicals and prices of these inputs; services rendered by institutions-Government or others like veterinary services and price paid for these if any; use of local resources and substitutes.
 - j) Maintenance of physical assets- replacement and/or maintenance of physical assets including oxen implements, farm tools, storage, etc. Expenses including labour incurred in maintenance.
 - k) Damages resulting from livelihood risks within each production year.
 - l) Positive changes in income- net income per household arising from crop production; changes in income arising out of adoption of new technology.
 - m) Livestock ownership- number of livestock per household by animal type and by use.
 - n) Household consumption: use of livestock and livestock products.
-

Wealth ranking was also supported by 70 per cent of regional officials in Amhara and 91 per cent of those interviewed in Tigray.

6.2.4.9 Community Participation and Workers Rights

Active community participation improves the value of inputs, ownership, maintenance and outputs. However, research shows that the term 'community participation' is an over simplification of a complex and heterogeneous reality and set of social relations informed as much by gender disaggregation as by unity. Firstly, 'the community', can not be considered homogenous as the potential benefits of an action, once disaggregated, often benefit richer community members. Secondly, 'participation', as applied to EGS is not a fixed concept and can arguably involve five different types: of what the researcher call 'cheap labour participation' (often referred to as mass mobilisation); 'cost-sharing' or 'co-financing participation'; 'employment based contractual obligation' participation; and what might be called 'community based decision making' participation. The types identified are not mutually exclusive and often coexist. Given that well planned and executed EGS interventions should be able to change the nature of productivity relations and support entitlements, the role of the community, as primary stakeholders, needs to be clearly defined both in guidelines

and during implementation. A combination of 'participation types', as outlined above need to be implemented. Under the EGS Guideline it is stated that:

"Any convenient community participation techniques such as interviews with key informants, group discussions, local surveys may be used in combination, as in Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) or the Local Level Participatory Approach (LLPA). The community must participate fully in joint assessments and supervisory field visits as well as being given specific responsibilities in relation to the provision of drinking water, local materials for construction of shade/shelter, and the ongoing maintenance of completed work. In all cases, consensus should be reached between the concerned implementing agency (government, non-government) and the community"... "one of the mechanisms of community participation is through meetings of the whole community or of their designated representatives. The DA or any other implementing agency is responsible for promoting community participation through organising and mobilising people, and raising awareness of the significance, approach and purpose of the EGS activities" (Pg. 76, DPPC EGS Guidelines, 1997)

The commitment to employ different methods of participation is clear although institutional responsibilities are not directly prescribed as is the relationship with informal civic-based organisations. Focus group discussion by and large agreed that EGS needs to be supported by both a combination of 'employment based contractual obligation' and 'community based decision making' given that 'cost sharing' participation can not as a principle apply to targeted transfer programmes for the poorest of the poor. Respondents observed that 'cheap labour' or 'mass mobilisation' participation of community members is observable everywhere in Ethiopia and this approach is not wholly acceptable within the policy guideline as EGS is targeted employment programme and wage transfers are affected in return for labour based on contractual work norms and labour performance. Research shows that in the study areas of Amhara 'employment based contractual obligation' are operational in areas where EGS is being implemented. In other areas, payments, as part of mass mobilisation, are standard practice. In Tigray, however, both 'employment based contractual obligation' and 'community based decision making' were shown to routinely take place although, once again, the process of mass mobilisation still occurs as part of the one months annual labour contribution for SWC projects requested by the government for all able bodied households⁶⁷. Under the Guideline, it is stipulated that the community will participate in the following areas of EGS planning:

"generating project ideas, developing shelf projects, employment needs assessments, up-dating project proposals and selecting activities, selecting the beneficiaries, identifying training needs, assessing requirements and mobilising resource and, defining arrangements for maintenance" (ibid pg.77)

⁶⁷ While the interest of the government is clearly in support of its own people for rural development (in fact reconstruction) such broad based public participation is not always welcomed by local communities and may in fact phase out in preference for a more formal employment based safety net approach as and when resources become available. In 1991, four months free labour for such activities was requested by the regional administration.

Research shows that because EGS cannot be claimed to be ordinarily operational in Ethiopia, and because many basic planning elements are not institutionalised, much of the 'community based decision making' participation also remains notional. For example, results show that in most areas shelf projects are neither developed or updated, ENA is not conducted and training is not provided. Active community participation therefore remains weak. The work of the WFP funded 2488, implemented direct with the MoA, however, extends participation in catchment rehabilitation through the Local Level Participatory Planning (LLPP) approach. A review of findings, in fact results from key informant questionnaires, shows that support for 'community based decision making' remains high in principle although it is acknowledged that 'employment based contractual obligation' are more observable. The term mass mobilisation is often used interchangeably for employment-based participation. Survey results conducted with secondary stakeholders show that:

- a) In Ethiopia, the concept of participation applies somewhat differentially.
- b) Participant observation shows that the level of actually participation in the planning of EGS projects as regards 'community based decision making' remains weak
- c) participation through 'employment based contractual obligation' attains a far higher level of participation as rules and procedures for employment based wage transfers are more widely known and applied;
- d) respondents stated that workers rights need to be further explored although a minimum standard should be attained given budget availability.
- e) 89 per cent of key informants stated commitment of workers rights and on site facilities although
- f) 32 per cent felt that such facilities could be budgeted for at present.

A supportive element of participation is that of 'workers equity' or 'employment rights'⁶⁸. Most of the respondents interviewed stated that 'workers rights' are in fact detailed in the DPPC EGS Guideline although wide scale application does not occur. The present constraint largely relates to resource limitations although

⁶⁸ Workers equity in Maharashtra is considered an important area of concern and the 'minimum' constitutional rights of the labour force need to be protected for democratic and project efficiency and effectiveness reasons. The provision, or not, of a supportive employment framework significantly influences the commitment of the labour force. Accordingly, and in appreciation of this, the Maharashtra EGS programme provides the following information and facilities to all registered workers: Confirmation of wage transfer rates; wage transfer payment every 2 weeks; work availability within maximum 5 Kms from home of labourer; an eight hour working day, weekly holidays and clearly known piece rate; drinking and medical facilities on site; shelter at work sites and baby sitting facilities; protective clothing when needed; ex-gratia payments up to Rs. 10,000 in injured on the work site; and, women labourers are provided with 30 days maternity leave if 150 days have been completed during that year. Under the Maharashtra EGS programme a new state legislation on women's participation in the planning and coordination of EGS is soon to be passed and this regulation will apparently provide a minimum quota in committees and EGS decision making bodies as direct positive discrimination.

6.2.4.10 Relevance, Usability and Regional Dissemination

In general, support for the Guideline, both within government and external co-operation circles is high although exposure and implementation of the Guideline would appear to remain unacceptably low.

Survey results were not conclusive as to the overall relevance and usability of the policy guideline however:

- a) Findings shows that over 65 per cent of federal key informants, some 60 per cent of regional officials and less than 36 percent of sub-regional officials found it to be relevant, although most officials not having read the guideline, were unable to comment;
- b) Woreda officials stated that the policy guideline was too detailed and that Woreda administrations neither had the capacity nor means to implement it.
- c) policy familiarisation and institutional support for the adoption of the guideline was urgently needed;
- d) translation of the guideline into regional languages was essential as the guideline, currently presented in English, restricts understanding by Woreda level administration officials;
- e) Officials in Tigray claimed that the regional approach to EGS, which led to the establishment of the policy itself, has been institutionalised therefore the actual policy guideline is not in common usage;
- f) Federal DPPC officials claim that the policy guideline remains relevant and utilitarian as stated in the study visit report “finally, it was learnt that the objectives, principles and sector activities of the Indian EGS are more or less the same as the Ethiopian EGS although our EGS remain not fully implemented.... Therefore, if the Ethiopian EGS is implemented following the procedures provided in the guideline (EGS) it will have a major contribution to food security programmes” (pg 19, DPPC, 2000).

Survey results related to the way the guideline was disseminated also indicate that:

- a) Initially, only 500 copies of the guideline were made available and most of these were sent to international organisations and not to regional and sub-regional offices;
- b) Some 3 years after the guideline had been drawn up, the researcher observed that over 200 copies were held by federal DPPC because some regions “had not formally requested in writing to receive copies”;
- c) Oromia, SNNP and other regions had not formally received copies of the guideline from federal DPPC, making policy implementation altogether impossible.

In a planing meeting for EGS, DPPC officials stated that dissemination and capacity building can revolutionise the planning and implementation of EGS although it was acknowledged during the study visits that at present, coordination between federal and regional structures remains a major weakness. The “reform of public administration”, as one official from MEDaC commented, is very much in its infancy.

6.2.4.11 EGS Staffing

In Maharashtra, full time EGS staff are represented at all levels of administration and the strategic positioning of EGS Ministers shows the political interest on the programme. The EGS programme is implemented through existing EGS line departments and coordinated by mandated executive bodies. All works are sanctioned by the District Collectors and lower level Panchayats (equal to Kebele) register the work force. Committees are established at State, District and Panchayat Semite levels to oversee the planning, control, coordination and inspection of the EGS works as show in Figure 6.8 below.

Figure 6.8 Organisational Hierarchy for the Maharashtra EGS Programme

| EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME ADMINISTRATION |
|--|
| STATE LEVEL |
| Cabinet Minister for EGS, State Minister for EGS |
| Secretary for EGS (with one Chief Engineer, Joint Secretary, three under secretaries,12 desk officers) |
| REGIONAL LEVEL |
| Six Divisional Commissioners (Revenue) with EGS as function, support staff, one Deputy Commissioner for EGS. Officer on Special Duty, Deputy Commissioner for EGS and support staff. |
| DISTRICT LEVEL |
| One Collector in each district (total 35) plus support staff for planning and monitoring and budgeting. One Deputy Collector and one Executive Engineer in each district. |
| Each district is divided into Tahasils/Tahasils comprised of a number of villages |
| Talathi (village Officers), demand for EGS labour registered here, implemented by Social Forestry/Irrigation/Agricultural Departments etc. |

One of the most marked difference between the Maharashtra and Ethiopian programmes relates to staffing. The Maharashtra programme is well staffed with qualified technical personnel at all levels working solely on EGS project planning, implementation and monitoring. While one also needs to acknowledge that a comparison of line department capacities between the two countries is futile, clearly a more proactive staffing policy would go a long way to address the lack of follow up. The Maharashtra programme is integrated into the normal line department activity and EGS funding compliments ongoing development plans. Staff are represented at the highest level of the state, in fact there are two state Ministers for EGS, at the level of the state parliament. In addition to focal EGS staff, all other government officials are mandated to follow up on EGS projects as a normal activity.

By way of contrast, participant observation and survey reports show that in 2000 no staff have a formally mandated responsibility for following up on EGS outside the

DPPC itself despite relief resources in that year totaling US\$ 800 to 900 million. Results shows that:

- a) staff with a formal mandate dedicated to EGS are non existent at any level within the administration;
- b) Within each line department there is a contact person for the NDPPM although, these officers play only a marginal role in policy dissemination and implementation process;
- c) 47 per cent of key informants stated that they were 'unofficially mandated' to work on EGS planning and implementation;
- d) only 12 per cent of Zonal and Woreda staff claimed to have been informally formally mandated and EGS projects were more often than not seen as an extra curricula activity – i.e. a non paid extra burden;
- e) only 8 per cent stated that there were sufficient staff to implement EGS;
- f) 92 per cent of regional officials called for increased employment of focal EGS professionals within the administration; and,
- g) 82 per cent of federal and regional administration officials stated that EGS staff could be recruited by line departments operating at Zonal and Woreda levels - if mandated to do so.

DPPC reflections on the Maharashtra study visit state that “It was also learnt that assigning some technical staff to assist key government officials of various levels and in charges of EGS is advantageous particularly in appraising and selection of plans (projects), and in taking appropriate decisions” (pg 19, DPPC, 2000). Research results suggest that what is lacking, is the representation of staff in regional line departments to follow up exclusively on EGS and this issue has been taken into consideration after the study visits where DPPC stated that “assigning key technical staff to assist regional authorities (specially administrators) that are in charge of EGS will promote and facilitate the smooth planning and implementation of it” (Pg 19, DPPC, 2000). Action on this would surely raise the level of EGS visibility within institutions and inevitably increase capacity to plan and implement as envisaged under the policy and directives.

6.3 Reflections on Policy and Institutional Results

The discussion of these results will be conducted in the eighth chapter where research results from the policy and institutional level will be compared and contrasted with the implementation level results. The results presented here provide a clear picture of policy and institutional constraints currently faced by the EGS programme. Many results lead to sound conclusions whereas others merely upon up a further level of important research questions. During the process of conducting this research, it has become clear that few examples of similar ‘applied research’ exist regarding the subject matter and that most key informants and external co-operation partners have become extremely interested in viewing these research results. Finally, the following brief summary of main policy and institutional results provides insight into many of the most significant findings.

Policy and Institutional Results

- a) Many officials remain unaware of the policy, its directives and guidelines and as such the policy is to be seen as voluntary and not mandatory in implementation.
- b) Key informants would like the policy to be enacted and formal legislation developed so that the agreed objectives of the policy are met as too greater latitude is given to individuals to interpret policy implementation;
- c) The policy is considered to be too complicated in certain areas, unimplementable as currently structured, and affected by lack of planned resources and cash transfers;
- d) There is a desire for greater government support for the decentralisation of the policy and for policy familiarisation and awareness to be provided to officials with a mandated role to follow up on EGS works;
- e) Efforts to link relief to development are being undermined by the lack of formal, mandated and enforceable institutional responsibilities for implementation;
- f) Research suggests that urgent reform of the public administrations involved in the implementation of NPDPM needs to be undertaken with large scale capacity building needs assessment to be conducted;
- g) A context specific poverty line within which to target social protection programmes needs to be defined as does a livelihoods monitoring system;
- h) Appropriate and supportive legislative for the NPDPM and EGS needs to be considered at the regional level to regulate targeting procedures, wage payments and workers rights;
- i) The importance of political support for the implementation of the policy is a sine qua non;
- j) Research suggests that there is an urgent need for greater understanding of decentralisation issues in rural development – bridging the growing policy gap between federal and regional administrations;
- k) Findings suggest that the adoption of EGS as a formal safety net based around budgeted resources and a medium term expenditure framework are vital;
- l) The development of complimentary employment strategies for economic development need to be considered with EGS/EBSN as a more formal safety net aimed at alleviating chronic vulnerability; and,
- m) The importance of the promotion of basic workers rights through existing policies and democratic institutions is also stressed.

Policy Guideline Results

- a) The overall intervention objectives for EGS are considered appropriate for the Ethiopian EGS although the concept of LRD needs to become an operational and not conceptual reality demanding greater coordination of efforts and resources between and within institutions;

- b) The delay in the publication of the EGS guideline, accompanying the policy, has created a policy vacuum at the regional level whereby informal experimentation has fallen far short of the guideline ideal;
- c) Support for the implementation of the programme at regional, Zonal and Woreda government levels is low as guidelines have not been disseminated in local languages and means of implementation are lacking;
- d) A shift from in kind to cash based transfers needs to be encouraged by government as do self targeting mechanisms to decrease targeting errors;
- e) The preparation of shelf projects and contingency planning for rural development in chronic areas needs urgent government attention;
- f) The productivity focus of EGS packages not for 'drought proofing' but for 'livelihood support' needs to be strengthened;
- g) Monitoring and evaluation is not routinely conducted but should be focused on monitoring livelihood outcomes;
- h) Input planning and resource guarantees need to be strengthened as so far capital inputs are not available undermining programmes sustainability;
- i) Strengthening community participation in planning and implementation for EGS at a more contractual and decision making level was to be encouraged;
- j) The linking of relief and development objectives, resources and institutions needs to be overviewed at the Woreda levels;
- k) Informants called for a matching fund for capital inputs to be put in place to assist line departments in routinely planning and following up on GES works;
- l) An urgent assessment of the relevance, at a regional and sub regional level and usability of the guideline needs to be conducted by DPPC.
- m) Results show that EGS staffing levels need to be increased particularly at the lower levels of administration involving either the recruitment of new officials or changes to the terms of reference of existing staff; and,
- n) The relationship between the DPPC and other line departments including the new food security programme units needs to be strengthened and areas of comparative advantage evaluated.

6.4 Conclusion

It has taken a long time to achieve the level of results presented here. It is clear from the results however, that both federal and regional governments urgently need to re-evaluate the policy and its institutional constraints, possibly using the results of this research as entry points. This will assist in the attainment of policy objectives and support the development of rural livelihoods through social protection programmes.

Social protection programmes need to be based on addressing the needs and livelihood constraints of the rural poor. This requires close monitoring of livelihoods and sound livelihood analysis around which the policy needs to be articulated. The role and accountability of co-ordinating and implementing institutions needs to be clearly laid out and where capacities are insufficient, capacity building programmes need to be urgently targeted.

The results presented above, demonstrate that EGS is not just to be considered a relief intervention but rather as one of a range of social protection measures assisting the rural poor in reducing both short and longer term poverty. Social protection measures should assist in reducing livelihood risks and in building up capital assets. The primary role of the Woreda in all development activities in delivering EGS is undermined by its own capacity constraints. As the policy will be as good as the weakest link, it is not surprising that problems and constraints continue to retard the programme.

However, there have been successes. The policy has provided an opportunity within which regionalisation of poverty eradication programmes can be owned and heightened the stakes as regards human and social rights. The institutions are grappling with difficult issues such as wage payment and targeting options, challenging the status quo, and encouraging a strong more regulated approach to governance than has been seen in any other historical period. The officials that have accompanied the researcher on the cross national research too, have shown themselves to be acutely aware of the issues, problems and constraints faced by the policy and their own institutions. Capacity assistance and public administration reform needs to address are urgently needed.

The following chapter builds upon these results and presents results related to the implementation of the policy in selected sample areas of Amhara and Tigray. Here, the policy and institutional results can be contrasted with reviewed the programme as experienced at the grass roots by implementing officials and EGS workers themselves.

CHAPTER 7: IMPLEMENTATION RESULTS

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the results of the policy and institutional analysis. This chapter presents the results of the implementation research which is of critical importance if the overall impact of social protection policies on rural livelihoods is to be assessed. For implementation research the following survey sites have been selected based upon the criteria presented in 5.1.6.

Amhara National Regional State

1. DPPC/SCF Institutional Support Project in Makdella Woreda including a survey of 7 EGS projects sites.
2. ANRS/World Food Programme (WFP) in Belessa Woreda including surveys of 33 EGS project sites.

Tigray National Regional State

3. Relief Society of Tigray (REST) Food For Recovery (FFR) Regional Programme with 7 project sites surveyed.
4. Tigray Food Security Desk/EC Promotional EGS Programme in Tsada Amba including a survey of 15 EGS project sites.

The Woredas chosen in Amhara were supported by SCF (Canada and UK) with funds secured from Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and WFP (funded by AusAID) respectively. Sites in Tigray are supported by REST, BoA/USAID and the EC implemented by the Tigray Food Security Desk. All projects were implemented by local administrations, with different levels of community participation, and under the overall responsibility of either international or local NGOs, as is the case with REST. In total, exactly 62 projects were reviewed either through direct field observation and study (38) or through review of field reports (24) submitted to either EC of funding institution. Wage transfer arrangements for the projects varied with 2 interventions with food payments and the remaining three with cash payments. The sectors of intervention included soil and water conservation, dam construction, irrigation, roads and nurseries – as part of a wider integrated watershed development approach. These interventions remain dominant under present EGS intervention in Ethiopia. The research was conducted with sample groups 4, 5 and 6 based on field measurement methods and utilising, where available, relevant recent programme evaluation reports.

In order to ground the policy and institutional results implementation level work should assist in triangulation, contrasting and/or contesting findings so far. This section provides the results of the project overviews reached with key implementation and programming officials (under 7.2 below) for Amhara and Tigray national regional states. These form the basis for seeking results in the following areas:

| | |
|--------|---|
| Area D | Programme efficiency and effectiveness. |
| Area E | Impact on short term relief objectives. |
| Area F | Impact on creation of long term productivity and livelihoods. |
| Area G | Overall programme and project sustainability. |

The methods used are predominantly quantitative and rely upon concrete examples of project implementation itself. However, qualitative methods have also been widely used and a large focus is given over to people centred analysis of poverty. This is because poverty related research involves measurement of the dynamic of social capital formation in particular and much of the analysis is therefore based around the Household Hunger Model and Wealth Ranking exercises.

7.2 Case Studies⁶⁹

As a result of resource constraints and other Government priorities the implementation of EGS is still dominantly financed by food aid provided by donors in response the annual relief appeals of DPPC. Officials acknowledged that line departments do not affix a matching capital budget, as expected under the national policy, and therefore international organisations and NGOs provide non budget support resources. Regional officials, participating in the planning workshops for the EC EGS, stated that 'despite severe constraints and slow progress, the overall direction is positive'. This is partly because international NGO's are implementing EGS, albeit reluctantly, at the request of both DPPC and donors who are interested to fulfil the implementation of the policy. The reasons, in general, for poor NGO support, as attested by NGO officials, is the delay in receiving food aid inputs and the weak implementation capacities at the Woreda level where capacities sadly remain limited. However, a number of organisations have been able to transcend these problems by implementing targeted capacity building support to federal and regional administrations among which REST, WFP, CIDA and the EC are the most notable. These organisations may be considered the 'custodians' of EGS and much responsibility rests upon the impact of these interventions, for gauging the success of the policy.

Between 1994 and 2001 the researcher had the opportunity to work, either directly or indirectly with the organisations presented below and in so doing has shared over 40 field trips involving detailed operational discussions and output to purpose reviews.

⁶⁹ The institutions chosen for this evaluation are those with the highest profiles as regards EGS in Amhara and Tigray region. All projects are implemented with government administrations at different levels and accordingly, all initiatives are jointly conducted with the government and local community. The strong work of other organisations such as the EBSN of SOS Sahel in Kindo Koisha, WFP in Merti Jeju in Oromia, LFW, are not deliberately ignored but they are outside the focal study areas.

7.2.1 Amhara National Regional State

Amhara has received substantial 'emergency' relief food assistance since the late 1970s. Historically, food aid was targeted gratuitously to 'relief' beneficiaries until the late 1980s when the concept of utilising food aid resources for labour intensive works was in the ascendancy. Regional officials states that despite the adoption of the national policy in 1993, policy familiarisation has only recently been conducted in priority EGS areas, within the support of international organisations. In 1999, with the establishment of the new regional government Food Security Project Coordination Office, assisted by the researcher as the lead institutional advisor, EGS is now viewed as an entry point for the wider regional hunger eradication programmes focused on providing gainful employment and building productive assets, i.e. the national EGS objectives.

The Amhara regional administration is viewed by the international community as reform progressive with regard to food security although regressive, in terms of the capacities exhibited by the lower levels of administration. A colleague from DFID remarked upon visiting a Woreda administration office in Amhara "are you sure this is the hub of the development dynamic in Ethiopia?". It is difficult to describe to an outsider the capacity constraints that exist at this level of administration. The following evaluation of selected EGS works form part of the implementation research in Amhara region and form the basis for the results into the four research areas.

7.2.1.1 DPPC/SCF Institutional Support Project: Makdella Woreda

In order to strengthen the institutional capacity of DPPC, a five-year support programme is being funded by Canadian CIDA and implemented by SCF Canada and UK⁷⁰⁷¹. The programme focuses on supporting the national policy and EGS guidelines although project implementation is through line departments and local communities. The project, the Institutional Support Project (ISP) aims to strengthen the capacity of the DPPC/B/D and related agencies to develop a more refined and comprehensive design, planning and implementation process for a broader application of community based and technically feasible EGS projects. The project focuses on the provision of

⁷⁰ This is a 5 year programme to support capacity building focussed on the regional level. The project has been operational since March 1997. Support includes familiarization on the National Policy for Disaster Prevention and management through a training programme preparing 200 trained trainers and up to 7000 facilitators, and support for the DPPC to prepare and implement training programmes on Early Warning. On EGS, piloting is underway in two Regions, with a total of 5 Zones and 16 Woredas targeted. Support includes familiarization and implementation training, physical and logistical inputs, and documentation. An EGS familiarization programme to reach all the Zones of Regions 3 and 4 is under preparation. The total value of the project is 35 million Birr over 5 years.

⁷¹ It is interesting to note that SCF (UK), while very committed to supporting DPPC and EGS in general, have stated that because implementation and absorbance capacity remains low at the Woreda level, and given the lack of contingency planning (shelf projects) the percentage of annual food aid that could be channeled through EGS remains low.

support for policy familiarisation, early warning and for piloting EGS. Makdella⁷², South Wollo Zone, is one of the chosen EGS pilot project areas.

According to the Save the Children coordinator the ISP is working at the heart of EGS piloting in Ethiopia and has become "central to the achievement of the DPPC's five year piloting plan for EGS". The intervention was planned in workshops involving relevant Federal, Regional, Zonal and departmental DPPC and line department administrations. Project implementation has been coordinated by the Woreda Relief and Development Committee (WRDC), chaired by the Woreda administration, and including relevant line departments. In South Wollo, institutional support advisors were employed to work within the DPPB to document the pilot review process. The project was implemented by the Government and field based activities were conducted by the Development Assistance. Discussion with programme staff highlighted the following areas of support provided under the ISP:

- a) EGS Guideline familiarisation for Zonal, Woreda and PA officials;
- b) preparation of baseline survey to collect food insecurity and EGS related data;
- c) the facilitation of planning and review workshops for EGS project development;
- d) support provided by trainers trained under the ISP Training of Trainers project;
- e) training of DAs in community participation, gender sensitivity, project planning and management;
- f) recurrent budget support for Zonal and Woreda line departments staff;
- g) provision of transport and project planning equipment;
- h) support for stationery and office supplies at Woreda and PA levels; and,
- i) training of team leaders and 'foremen' on project related technical skills.

The major element of the project has been the focus on institutional awareness and planning capacities for EGS works. Importantly, the EGS ISP in Makdella, has been piloting the EGS Guideline making the intervention particularly insightful. Under the pilot EGS projects were commenced in February 1999 as the periods from February to April are slack periods in the agricultural cycle. In the annual pilot review of May 1999 the following progress is stated:

"The major selection criteria for the EGS projects identified by the focus groups were community participation, technical feasibility and labour intensity, which follows the guideline priorities closely. The groups said that the projects were integrated with long term development and would have a significant contribution in this regard. The activities had given immense benefits to the whole community and especially those who participated directly in the EGS programmes. It was also considered to provide an important long term asset. In terms of food security, the soil conservation activities have helped to tackle soil degradation and increase soil productivity. As well, road construction and maintenance was essential for the transportation of farm inputs and agricultural outputs." (Pg. 31, ISP, 1999)

⁷²

Makdella is a belg rain producing area with rains usually fall from February to April.

Despite the very important contribution that the ISP makes to piloting EGS in Amhara it is difficult to believe such a successful output in such a short period and much of the claim can not be corroborated. For example, soil fertility can not be so significantly improved in the first year of implementation moreover, given that the monitoring of biological content and micro-nutrients etc. were not undertaken, such claims must remain subjective. The evaluation was conducted by ISP and DPPC officials without senior agricultural officers leading to a biased presentation of impact⁷³. However, the ISP has clearly made an important contribution to piloting EGS and research results have yielded many important findings.

According to Woreda officials interviewed, one of the major constraints on the development of the pilot EGS has been the lack of guaranteed food aid resources and labour demand has outstripped available resources despite payments (in kind) of 2.5 Kg/per person day which are officially below the policy guideline. Focus group discussions with programme staff outlined the following particular problems faced by the programme: food distribution, delays in food payments and migration of labourers unable to secure EGS placements. Additional problems, as reported by the ISP coordinator include poor quality hand tools, low commitment of responsible sectoral and committee staff and lack of child care facilities on site however. Importantly, however, the Zone provided the necessary back up to the Woreda.

Research findings, based on field assessment and key informant interviews suggest that despite the limited training provided at Zonal and Woreda levels the contribution to policy familiarisation and EGS works planning capabilities within the lower level administration has been considerable⁷⁴. Field visits also show that the quality of physical conservation measures are high although the activities were not integrated into either a wider catchment approach as used by (WFP 2488) or a micro watershed development approach. In a number of sites visited SWC measures were somewhat ad hoc and will therefore remain marginal to production potentials not least because they fall in the upper catchment areas and are on public land. In none of the sites visited was ground water extraction used thereby de-linking upper catchment area development from the productivity potentials of the command area.

Field performance figures, for physical activity accomplishment (building household livelihood assets), as collected by the researcher with WFP officials, show that the activities themselves are not comprehensively linked to integrated rural development but rather fulfil labour demand requirements only. It was acknowledged by regional BoA officials that the interventions should have focused on percolation structures and ground water extraction as well as micro catchment rehabilitation. In so doing, the impact on livelihoods would be far greater. Table 7.1 below presents the physical activities conducted in Makdella between the periods 1999 to 2000 as corroborated by the researcher.

⁷³ This was apparently because the BoA was not able to provide support for the review because of other commitments. This was a lost opportunity.

⁷⁴ For example, in 1998, the researcher conducted a regional workshop and the most informed participant had been trained by the ISP.

Table 7.1 Summary of Makdella EGS Targets, Grain Requirements and Labour Days Created¹

| Peasant Association | Activities | Units | Achieved Activity | Grain Requirements (mt) | Labour Days Generated ³ |
|---------------------|------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Gogosse | Check dams | Km | 1 | 60 | 1600 |
| | Stone Bunds | " | 90 | | 13575 |
| | Soil Bunds | " | 169 | | 11830 |
| | Road maintenance | " | 10 | | 5000 |
| Genatit (Senk) | Check dams | " | 2 | 36 | 1000 |
| | Stone Bunds | " | 72 | | 10800 |
| | Seedling prod. | Pcs | 35000 | | 350 |
| | Pitting | " | 981 | | - |
| | Foot paths | Kms | 3 | | 1500 |
| | Cut off drains | " | 1 | | 400 |
| | | | | | |
| Genatit (Gena) | Check dams | " | 1 | 36 | 1000 |
| | Stone Bunds | " | 63 | | 9450 |
| | Road Construct. | " | 2 | | 4000 |
| | Seedling prod. | Pcs | - | | - |
| | Pitting | " | 52320 | | 2616 |
| | Cut off drains | Kms | 1 | | 400 |
| | Animal forage | Pcs | - | | - |
| Tekosso (won) | Check dams | Kms | 1 | 45 | 1125 |
| | Stone Bunds | " | 48 | | 7200 |
| | Soil Bund | " | 110 | | 7700 |
| | Road Maintain. | " | 9 | | 4500 |
| | River diversion | Pcs | 2 | | 800 |
| | Seedling prod. | " | - | | - |
| | Pitting | " | 64960 | | 2384 |
| Tekosso (Ale) | Check dams | Kms | 2 | 45 | 1840 |
| | Stone Bunds | " | 63 | | 9392 |
| | Soil Bund | " | 99 | | 6952 |
| | Road Maintain. | Pcs | 7 | | 14000 |
| | Seedling prod. | " | 174000 | | 1740 |
| | Pitting | " | 64960 | | 3248 |
| | | | | 222 | 125,266 |

Source: ¹ Data taken from ISP Pilot Review of May 1999.² Converted from Quintals (1 mt = 10 quintals)³ Labour days calculated based on 2.5Kg/person day at respected work norm

These are the figures reported by the ISP for the 5 peasant associations although the researcher ascertained, based on field work and some simple statistical analysis, that the figures presented are incoherent. At 2.5 kg per person per day, which according to the review is the going wage rate, a total of 88,000 labour days would be created with the 22 mt of food provided although over 125,000 have been reported. In addition, many of the planning figures for achievement (i.e. seedling production 137,000 and yet pitting only 64,960 in two PAs, person days per activity achievement are clearly not based on field based monitoring but rather calculated at the rate of the standard work norms. One doubts whether in fact any field based monitoring has been conducted at all and field based research confirmed that the outputs were in fact the documented planned and not the actual achievements. The actual achievements were far lower, according to the Woreda officials interviewed.

Table 7.2 below provides a breakdown of the numbers of households in the peasant associations and the percentage of households actively involved in EGS works.

Table 7.2 Numbers of Households by PA involved in EGS as Percentage ¹

| No. | Peasant Association | EGS Beneficiary Households (A) | Number of Households (B) | Per cent involved in EGS (A/B) ² | Total Population |
|-----------|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | Tekosso (wond) | 406 | 895 | 45 | 4312 |
| 2 | Tekosso (Alek) | 406 | 756 | 53 | 2750 |
| Sub Total | | 812 | 1651 | 49 | 7067 |
| 3 | Genatit (Genat) | 327 | 842 | 38 | 4153 |
| 4 | Genatit (Senk) | 327 | 812 | 40 | 3248 |
| Sub Total | | 654 | 1654 | 39 | 7401 |
| 5 | Gogosse | 538 | 1072 | 50 | 4181 |
| Sub Total | | 538 | 1072 | 50 | 4181 |
| Total | | 2004 | 4377 | 46 | 18644 |

Source: ¹ Data taken from ISP Pilot Review of May 1999 (corroborated by researcher)

² Tabulated as EGS beneficiary households as percentage of total number of households

The ISP in Makdella provided employment to approximately 46 per cent of households in the project areas generating some 88,000 labour days and providing a considerable food income to recipient households to narrow the food consumption gap. However, many of the participants claimed to have monetised their rations in local markets, making the calculation of total capital assets transfer unknown. The results demonstrate the problems associated with EGS monitoring and evaluation where basic data is not usually available and efforts to monitor such variables is not profitable. As a result, progress monitoring figures tend to be desk driven and not actual measurements.

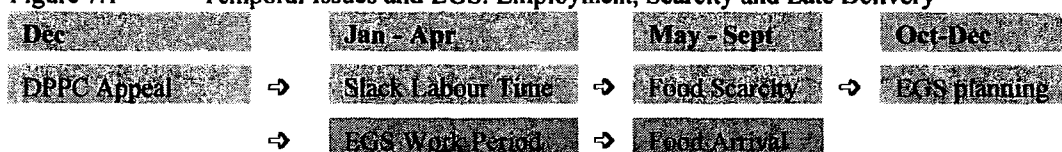
Fieldwork with Woreda officials, ISP staff and community groups have generated the following important findings from this study as follows.

- a) Research findings show that the timing of the relief appeal and arrival of food aid is problematic although particularly for farmers using the Krempt rains⁷⁵. Food resources were not available to meet the maximum labour demand period of January to April and most food aid did not become available at distribution points until May/September. This is unfortunately the main agricultural period as shown in figure 7.1 below;
- b) EGS workers were paid between 2 and 4 months after having completed the works, depending upon the arrival of food aid thus undermining the notion of employment in favour of relief;

⁷⁵ "The impact is that during the slack time of the year when the EGS works takes place, the food is not available for distribution. This is very serious. Farmer households must make the decision about whether to migrate for work during January to April or work on EGS, and in the absence of food distribution it is very difficult and stressful...Poor farmers are therefore forced into a position of working on EGS without knowing whether they will receive their food assistance or not (pg. 41, SCF ISP, 1999)

⁷⁶ Typically, the DPPC launches a relief appeal in December just prior to the year of need with food aid arriving from March onwards, unless food aid is drawn down from the reserve prior to replenishment.

Figure 7.1 Temporal Issues and EGS: Employment, Scarcity and Late Delivery⁷⁷



To overcome these problems, alternative suggestions made by the ISP team to the researcher included: the adoption of a coupon system, retroactive EGS where work is conducted after payment is made although this would create serious labour problems and destroy the notion of working for real wages based on labour exchange.

- c) EGS projects in Makdella were not integrated into the line department plans as requested in the EGS Guidelines;
- d) The coordination of the Makdella EGS was affected by delays in food distribution although officials stated that the Relief Food Outlets constructed under the ISP assisted in overcoming this problem to some extent.
- e) The follow up provided by the Woreda and Zonal line departments was adequate for the relief side of the EGS although support for development planning was less forthcoming as requested by the Guideline.
- f) The DPPC is formally charged with the coordination of EGS although regional food security officials stated that DPPC does not have the influence to enforce the support of line departments⁷⁸ as requested by the policy.

⁷⁷ EGS works should be initiated before people start to suffer severe food deprivation, wherever possible. The use and phasing of EGS in disaster-prone, threatened and disaster-affected areas. As soon as the Early Warning System (EWS) detects signs of imminent severe food shortages and provides estimates of the numbers of people/households expected to be unable to meet their food needs during a specified period arrangements must be made to initiate works as soon as possible. If it is expected that people will be unable to meet their food needs after the beginning of April, for example, works providing the necessary employment opportunities must start not later than the beginning of April (pg. 96, DPPC, 1997)

⁷⁸ "The community, the Development Agent (DA), NGOs, and sectoral line departments (LDs) share information on disaster risks and vulnerabilities, and jointly develop ideas for shelf project activities within the framework of an overall development plan for each area. They collaborate in the context of the Woreda Early Warning Unit (WEWU) in assessing the situation in drought-prone and affected areas of the Woreda. When need arises, they update shelf projects and/or prepare specific new proposals for EGS. When resources are approved, they agree and jointly plan, monitor and evaluate EGS works. The community targets (selects) beneficiaries for EGS within the framework of criteria set by the WDPPC. The WDPPC coordinates the preparation of shelf projects and, in response to early warnings, the assessment of employment needs and the planning and implementation of EGS works in all sectors. It approves and integrates the EGS plans (of LDs and NGOs) and resources requirements (of LDs) into the overall Woreda relief plan together with related relief requirements. NGOs submit their proposals for EGS to the relevant LD for approval, and the LD integrates the NGOs' proposals in the sectoral plan submitted to the WDPPC. At the Zonal level, the ZDPPD and the ZPEDD jointly review and compile the Woredas' EGS proposals and submit them to the ZDPPC for review and approval [.....?] before forwarding them to the RDPPB. When capacity is lacking in a Woreda to plan and implement EGS, the Zone deploys a mobile technical team from the concerned LDs to assist. The Regional Government earmarks and allocates resources for EGS to Woredas, facilitates the delivery of those resources, and provides overall guidance for EGS planning and implementation. The RDPPB and the RPEDB jointly review and compile the Zones' EGS proposals and submit them to the RDPPC for approval. The regional LDs provide reports on the implementation of sectoral EGS to the Regional Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau. The RDPPC reviews and approves the EGS proposals as

- g) Over 100 officials undertook EGS familiarisation training and the ISP/DPPC provided them with a copy of the EGS Guideline in English although requests for versions in Amharic were made by the Woreda⁷⁹. Woreda officials also claimed that the Guideline was too complicated;
- h) Wages of 2.5 kg per person per day were paid, below the policy minimum, because of lack of resources. This meant a below natural minimum was paid.
- i) The ISP claim that the split between able bodied (80 per cent) and non able bodied (20 per cent), as recommended in the DPPC five year plan, is implemented too rigidly and no supplementary foods were available in the Woreda to compliment relief needs.
- j) In Makdella EGS participants had to walk between 7 and 20 Kms to receive in kind wages as no food distribution point existed in the direct locality.

7.2.1.2 Bureau of Agriculture/World Food Programme⁸⁰ EGS: Belessa Woreda

In 1997, WFP signed a project agreement with the ANRS, with funding from AusAID, to provide human capacity support and physical inputs to strengthen the governments capacity in Belessa Woreda in North Gondar Zone for planning and implementation of EGS. The total financial commitment provided by AusAID to WFP was modest at US\$ 201,385 for both Belessa in Amhara and Sasie Tsadae Amba in Tigray although food aid, an additional grant, was used as the basis for wage transfer payments. According to officials Belessa was selected jointly by the Regional Government and WFP based on its poverty status and continuing food aid requirements. The implementation of catchment rehabilitation works (established through the preparation of shelf projects) were funded through food aid for the period 1999/2002. However, the main focus of the Belessa intervention was to build the capacity of the Woreda administration and line departments to plan and implement EGS through the preparation of appropriate, natural resource focused 'shelf projects'. Lower level objectives included the institutionalisation of a more practical approach to programming EGS and the establishment of 'model' works to guide future programme orientation in a replicable way. Another important initiative was to strengthen the institutional linkages between local relief and line department offices in planning and implementation.

part of the regional relief plan, ensuring that they are compatible with overall development plans. The RDPPC provides a copy of the regional relief plan to the FDPPC with a request for allocations of federal resources, as needed. (pg 20, DPPC, 1997)

⁷⁹ The ISP has provided financial assistance to DPPC to translate the Guideline into Tigrinya, Amharic and Oromifa. This intervention is both timely and well received. As stated, the human capacity building side of the ISP has, and is, being quite effective.

⁸⁰ The World Food Programme (WFP) funded Project 2488 is the largest such programme in Africa and has been in operation with the Ministry of Agriculture since the pilot in 1978. As of 1993 the project focuses on the preparation of detailed conservation development plans through the adoption of the Local Level Participatory Planning Approach (LLPPA) and the project implementation through food for work. Training and procurement of vital tools and equipment is also included. A new 5 year extended phase of the project is being financed at a cost of US\$ 122 million.

A review of both the project documents and evaluation reports show that important results expected under the programme were as follows a) the preparation of shelf projects b) building up capacity for expansion and contraction of labour demand c) improved gender sensitised community participation practices d) vulnerable household targeting e) asset creation to build longer term capabilities f) integration between relief inputs and development outputs g) relief transfer resources; and h) the creation of agricultural slack period employment opportunities. Unusually, the Regional, Zonal and Woreda offices assigned focal staff at all levels for the project although mainly within DPPC and the agricultural offices. The project commenced with two days training for sixteen staff from DPPC at Regional, Zonal and Woreda levels, BoA, Zonal and Woreda administration, Zonal Women's Affairs Office, Woreda bureau of agriculture and DAs. The training focused on institutional responsibilities and coordination of EGS works.

A second round of training was held at the Woreda level on the preparation of shelf projects using the MoA/WFP defined Local Level Participatory Planning Approach (LLPP) combined with monitoring and evaluation techniques. Training was provided to 77 trainees over a period of six months. Local institutions involved in the training included Woreda agricultural experts, DAs, health experts, representatives from the Woreda education, youth affairs, women's association, from the Woreda administration and local NGOs. Importantly, the researcher found that a total of 279 farmers also received training on the basic principles, objectives, planning, implementation and site selection guidelines for EGS. Physical inputs to the pilot EGS included recurrent expenditure support such as per diems, one vehicle, computers for Zonal offices, motorcycles, office furniture, field planning equipment,

In total, 33 project sites were selected for EGS pilot implementation with an area of 10,337 hectares, targeting 5,562 households as potential beneficiaries/participants out of a total population of 23,000. The average reported household size is 4.14 persons per household and average land holding 1.37 hectares⁸¹. EGS works included natural resource management and conservation including soil and water conservation (physical and biological measures), water supply development, road construction, reforestation, grass strips, fodder production, alley cropping, pond construction and area closures. Table 7.2 presents a summary of the physical planning targets, food aid requirements and labour days created by each activity as corroborated by the researcher during two field trips.

⁸¹ It is interesting to note that the average land holding, and therefore overall productivity potential, for land in Belessa is higher than many other food deficit areas in North and South Wollo where land holdings are as low as 0.25 ha on occasions. The numbers of rural land less are also increasing.

Table 7.2 Summary of Belessa EGS Targets, Grain Requirements and Labour Days Created¹

| Activities | Units | Target Activity | Grain Requirements (mt) ² | Labour Generated ³ | Days |
|---------------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------|
| Stone faced bunds | Km | 2679.3 | 884.0 | 294,666 | |
| Soil bunds | " | 1655.0 | 347.0 | 115,666 | |
| Stone bunds | " | 32.1 | 1.5 | 500 | |
| Check dams | " | 67.6 | 40.3 | 13,433 | |
| Cutoff drains | " | 104.4 | 124.6 | 41,533 | |
| Microbasins | No. | 253137.0 | 37.9 | 12,633 | |
| Spring Development | No. | 37 | 188.7 | 62,900 | |
| Artificial Waterways | Km | 1.8 | 2.6 | 866 | |
| Road construction | " | 7.5 | 44.4 | 14,800 | |
| Road Maintenance | " | 0.8 | 1.2 | 400 | |
| Area closure | Ha | 522.0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Seedling plantation | No. | 1251118.0 | 56.3 | 18,766 | |
| Soil Bund stabilisation | Km | 3.2 | 0.1 | 33 | |
| Scattered tree planting | No | 8700.0 | 0.4 | 132 | |
| Grass seed borders | Ha | 36.8 | 78.6 | 26,200 | |
| Grass strip establishment | Km | 28.3 | 0.4 | 132 | |
| Fodder tree planting | No. | 136437.0 | 6.1 | 2033 | |
| Pitting and repitting | " | 1754612.0 | 263.1 | 87,700 | |
| Homestead plantation | " | 179500.0 | 8.1 | 2,700 | |
| Alley cropping | No. | 5300.0 | 0.4 | 132 | |
| Pond construction | " | 2 | 40.2 | 13,400 | |
| Site guarding | " | 477.0 | 5.7 | 1,900 | |
| Totals | | | 2136.6 | 712,200 | |

Source: ¹ Data aggregated from WFP field reports, Yirga, A (1999), Status Report on Pilot EGS and key informant interviews.

² Converted from Quintals (1 mt = 10 quintals)

³ Labour days calculated based on 3 Kg/person day at respected work norm

To meet the non wage inputs, Zonal DPPC also provided some 5,796 shovels, 4,289 hoes and 231 line levels for planning the works. By April 1999, a total of 22 out of the planned 33 sites were being implemented utilising some 271 mt only but apparently generating 244,647 labour days of EGS employment. It is interesting to note that the gender disaggregated data for the participation of men and women shows that men provided 76.7 per cent of the labour and 23.3 per cent women.

A formal pilot programme evaluation was conducted in early 1999 and again in 2001⁸² focused on assessment of the following key issues: local level planning and implementation capacities, non food capital input provisions, targeting, wage transfer options, shadowing effective labour demand, the generation of productive assets, institutional and community participation in EGS, gender sensitivity of labour intensive public works and institutional co-operation and coordination. Based on the

⁸² A formal programme evaluation was conducted in January and February 1999 by Dr. Manfred Metz (international food security expert) and Almaz Haile Selassie (gender consultant), Teferi Bekele (consultant) and Yonis Berkele (national SWC expert). During the final workshop 'he researcher presented a paper entitled 'The Road Ahead: New Directions for EGS in Ethiopia' where the importance of looking holistically at EGS from a policy to practise perspective.

results of the evaluation, the researchers participation in the WFP national pilot workshop and field-work in Belessa the following important results have been yielded.

- a) Planning and Implementation Capacity: Results show that 33 shelf projects with a capacity to absorb ~712,200 person days at a cost of 2,136 mt were developed (equal to US\$ 534,000⁸³). Shelf projects were planned by line departments with only modest support from WFP technical staff. The evaluation report states that as the projects were planned in a participatory way, they answer directly to the specific needs expressed by the local community.⁸⁴ Evaluation recommendations however disclose that despite the support provided, overall technical capacities remain low at the Woreda level and that in future, staff terms of reference need to include a provision for shelf project preparation. Field visits showed however, that continued preparation of shelf projects continues to be affected by budget restrictions and is therefore no longer continued.
- b) Capital Input Provisions: The provision of complimentary capital inputs reportedly improved the efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of project works although, as these inputs were discontinued at the end of the WFP project, capital inputs are no longer routinely provided.
- c) Targeting: Targeting in Belessa was affected by the existence of other labour intensive programme (EGS, FFW, WFP 2488, SAERAR, NGOs etc.) leading to individuals being involved almost simultaneously in different projects, therefore making EGS almost indistinguishable. According to Woreda officials administrative targeting was used although, due to the resource restrictions, the numbers of labour days being generated were restricted. According to WFP, the poorest of the poor were selected by the community as priority participants for EGS works.
- d) Wage Transfers: In Belessa, in the past, wage payments had been delayed by up to six months with wage rates frequently reduced from 3 Kg to 2 Kg per person day because of resource constraints. For this programme, wages were paid in cash at an average wage rate of US\$ 71 cents per person day⁸⁵.
- e) Meeting Labour Demand: The evaluation report of WFP states, as also ascertained by the researcher in discussion with the evaluation team, that EGS was not considered applicable in unforeseen and devastating disasters as immediate needs cannot be met through the quick scaling of EGS works as expected under the Guideline. Lack of resources⁸⁶, poor planning and the unpredictability of livelihood changes undermined the programme. Key informants supported the idea that if a medium term expenditure framework could be agreed for EGS, this would partially minimise the problems

⁸³ based on US\$ 250/Mt including ITSH costs

⁸⁴ The Local Level Participatory Planning approach adopted was considered by regional officials to be appropriate for EGS as a model to engage labour in catchment area rehabilitation.

⁸⁵ The average cost of US\$ 250/Mt is used to detail total food costs and labour income per day.

⁸⁶ It needs to be asserted that resource availability remains a problem principally at the local level as the logistics of supply are both costly and timely.

experienced. In Belessa this would involve linkage between contingency planning and shelf projects, resource availability, complimentary capital inputs, increased Woreda implementation capacity.

- f) The Generation of Productive Assets: Belessa, like many Woredas has not seen economic growth in the agricultural sector for many years and as the population growth increase, land become increasingly fragmented and yields remain stagnant. However, if the productive livelihood assets are to be created, conservation by itself will remain insufficient. Focus group discussions with WFP officials showed the need for additional policy and institutional reforms around land, water, finance markets and rural mobility to be of equal importance to EGS. The linkage between conservation and production, needs to be incorporated into a wider participatory integrated micro watershed development approach. The pilot programme generated large scale physical assets although, largely on common and not smallholders land and although field visits confirmed the quality of work to be high, the impact on livelihoods as attested to by EGS participants remain intangible. When asked if the project outputs would create increased income opportunities or increased production only 30 per cent felt in would.
- g) Participation: In order to foster maximum participation, training was conducted at Woreda and farmers level to strengthen planning and implementation linkages and to increase the ownership of project interventions. Community participation included both 'employment based contractual obligation' and 'community based decision making' with substantial effort made by both local authorities and WFP to ensure the latter. EGS workers interviewed were broadly aware of the project purpose and expected results although remained vague about the real longer term impact on rural livelihoods. The results of field work in Belessa shows that over 72 per cent of participants understood the background objectives of the to the project whereas more than 77 per cent felt that it provided both short term employment and contributed to agricultural production. However, according to the Woreda chairman, active participation had strengthened the relationship between civil society and public administrations and secured an active involvement in the programme.
- h) Gender Sensitivity of LIPW: Sadly, the WFP evaluation of gender sensitivity and EGS is extremely poor and barely warrants recital, however, it is noted that women's participation in EGS, from a purely labour perspective only, is higher in Tigrai (51-55 per cent) than that observed in Amhara (35-45 per cent).⁸⁷ It was acknowledged, and experienced by the researcher that women's participation in decision making around public works remains limited.
- i) Institutional Coordination: The capacity building support provided by the project clearly enhanced the level of institutional co-operation and

⁸⁷ The ongoing study of the EC supported EGS with ANRS is providing a more in depth study of gender and EGS issues. This will be conducted by the Women's Affairs Office of the Regional Council and the Women's Association in coordination with the BoA, Food Security Unit and EC LFSU.

coordination and provided a resource focused approach to planning. This was attested to by WFP and Woreda officials.

7.2.2 Tigray National Regional State^{88 89}

Tigray shares administrative similarities with other regions at the Zonal and Regional levels. However, at the tertiary administrative level, the 'Baito', or elected Woreda council, has been established since the early 1970s and is divided into sub-committees for agriculture, finance, health, education, cottage industries, trade and relief and rehabilitation. All relief and development work is implemented through the peoples Baitos and complimented by the work of the farmer's, women's and youth's associations. The Woreda Baito is also represented at the village (tabia) level to help ensure grassroots involvement in decision making. Below the tabia is the Kushet which is represented at the sub village level.

Tigray, has been receiving food assistance from the international community for over thirty years and accordingly, the concept of EGS took hold in Tigray many years before the national policy was announced in 1993. In fact, the national policy, like the food security strategies and programmes, have been very much influenced by the Tigraian experience⁹⁰. Soil and water conservation works are of course natural labour intensive works and the quality of physical structures in particular is also very high. Until recently, the people of Tigray would contribute four months free labour time each year to catchment rehabilitation works although this has now reduced to one month each year. Recent experiences, in eastern Tigray in a Woreda called Atsbi Wemberta demonstrate the rather advanced nature of EGS as it is implemented in Tigray and accordingly, this particular experience is well represented in the coming pages. Over the years REST has professionalised development interventions in Tigray and much innovation, to both EGS and other actions, has been made. The following sections draw heavily on the considerable experience of REST and more recently, on the experience of the newly established Tigray Food Security Desk. In Tigray, EGS is not new either conceptually or in terms of implementation and in general gratuitous relief was minimised as a principle of good resource management. After all, the value of food aid receipts to Tigray each year is a substantial percentage of the federal government subsidy and accordingly, food aid has been historically channelled through labour intensive public works for food security although, more largely focused on conservation.

⁸⁸ The researcher lived and worked in Tigray between 1994 and 1997 as the coordinator of the REST/EC Micro Projects Programme being implemented by the Relief Society of Tigray REST. The programme implemented over 100 rural development projects related to the social and economic infrastructure sectors and community based works. The programme was participatory requiring a 25% community contribution from communities for all project ideas implemented.

⁸⁹ The main institutions in Tigray outside the formal public administration are the people's councils (Baitos as already stated), the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Relief Society of Tigray (REST).

⁹⁰ The previous Deputy Commissioner of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), now the DPPC, Abadi Zemo was a Tigraian and his colleagues of the time widely credit him as the instigator of EGS at the heart of the NPDPM.

7.2.2.1 Relief Society of Tigray (REST)^{91,92}: Food For Recovery (FFR)

No other NGO in Africa has been involved in channelling such large volumes of food assistance through labour intensive public works as REST which was formed in 1978 to work in Tigray with the refugees largely in Sudan. REST has, since its establishment not only evolved into a highly effective development partner for donors such as the EC⁹³ and USAID among many others but also its influence in terms of introducing, for example, rural micro finance and water supply development, within Ethiopia has been considerable. REST's long involvement with both direct relief assistance and food for work has been considerable and their current executive Director, Teklewoini Assefa, has had a profound impact on the role of community participation in development in Tigray. After much debate within the organisation, REST advocated working towards the implementation of the national policy and on support for linking relief resources to the achievement of developmental objectives. However, for REST, food aid is not considered a wage but rather payment to support the work of the community. The aim is to guarantee that the communities desire for development is encouraged and not subsumed under a shorter-term vision where dependency on food aid is created. For REST, EGS is usually referred to as Food for Recovery (FFR) as REST has harbours concerns as to how the guideline has been established under the NPDPM. REST differentiates between self-help initiatives and state-help interventions such as EGS prioritising the former. The major differences between EGS and FFR are presented in Figure 7.3 below based on discussions with the Executive Director of REST.

Figure 7.3 EGS Against Food For Recovery (FFR)

| Characteristic | EGS | FFR |
|-------------------|---|--|
| Objective | Link relief through employment for developmental asset creation | A contribution to community development |
| Rationale | Provide employment during the agricultural slack period | Support community self-help and foster development |
| Timing | Emergency interventions only | Throughout the year as long as resources remain available |
| Shelf of Projects | To be prepared as contingency plan | Fully integrated into annual line department plan - no contingency |
| Payment | 3 Kg per person day worked | 3 Kg per person day worked |

⁹¹ REST has been the relief wing of the TPLF and was formed in 1978 in pursuit of national self-determination and democracy within a unified Ethiopia. The TPLF structure comprises a Congress made up of representatives from the various popular associations, Central Committee and the Politburo. The overall policy is determined by the Central Committee and discharged through committees.

⁹² The influence of REST when combined with ability to undertake development works should not be under estimated. In 1995 REST's income statement based on donations equaled ~US\$ 21,164,824, in 1996 ~US\$ 17,670,438 and in 1997 totalled ~US\$ 21,721,439 from 56 donors.

⁹³ The EC has provided considerable assistance to REST since before 1991. For example, in 1993 the EC's share of total food handled by REST was 17,203mt or 33 per cent of the total. In 1994 it increased to 34,771 (39 per cent of total), in 1995 it increased still further to 37,000 Mt and in 1996 it hiked still further to 47,000 Mt or 63 per cent of total food aid. 47,000 Mt is valued at ~€ 11,750,000. Since 1996, there has been a steady decline in food aid commitments.

Results of participant observation, numerous programme evaluations, focal group discussions and direct discussions with planning officials have highlighted the following programme evaluation results of FFR/EGS:

- a) FFR is fully integrated with development programmes and all able bodied individuals participate in community based labour intensive projects;
- b) Food is provided as support to the community, but not as payment for labour per se. The aim of this aspect of the policy is to de-link the concept of work for food and food for development where the latter is assumed to undermine the internal community development dynamic. It was proposed by REST that community initiatives would come from the desire for development rather than the desire to receive food handouts. In practical terms, however, food aid assistance is provided where people have no other means of livelihood;
- c) Distribution of food aid by and large targets the most needy in the community, with the decision about beneficiaries participation left in the hands of the community alone although, this has caused some concern as the research of Michigan State University shows;
- d) A social safety net would be made available to the most disadvantaged and vulnerable sections of the population including physically disabled, elderly, orphans, pregnant women and other groups. This assistance is on a free-distribution (gratuitous) basis and this is considered by REST as a 'safety net approach';
- e) the 80 (abled):20 (non abled) body ratio is not implemented rigidly but rather depends on need.
- f) REST officials are equally open to the utilisation of relief food or cash as a payment form; and,
- g) The broad policy of REST with regard to EGS maintains the following four observable elements a) integration of targeted programme to support and foster community-based activities b) grassroots focused to strengthen local administrations and communities c) selection of EGS beneficiaries follows a community participation approach d) wage transfers for work vary according to the kind of work conducted as does the ownership of created assets.⁹⁴

Table 7.4 relates the activities funded under the EC funded IFSP as FFR/EGS. The results show that between 1996 and 1999, from EC funded resources only, some 35,533,000 labour days were created through labour intensive public works with 29 per cent focused on the construction of stone bunds, 33 per cent focused on hillside terraces, 13 per cent on check dam construction, 5.3 per cent on trench excavation and ~ 12 per cent on road construction. The remaining 7.7 per cent focused on other sectoral activities. REST's ability to channel food assistance resources through public works focused on such activities is clearly impressive. As one can image, the

⁹⁴ For example, in the case of earth dam construction, participants will only benefit if directly if their own land is in the lower catchment area – these people normally accept 3 Kg per person day. However, if labour is provided from the upper catchments where net productivity gains will be extremely marginal, payments may need to be as high as 6 Kg per person day.

resources needed to achieve 141,519 Kms of terraces and stone bunds, including the technical supervision, are considerable and a testament to grassroots public action⁹⁵.

Table 7.4 REST IFSP/FFR (1996-1999) Activities, Grain Utilised and Labour Days Generated¹

| Activities | Units | Achivement | Grain Utilised (mt) | Labour Generated ² | Days |
|----------------------------|-------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|------|
| Stone bunds | Km | 67,866 | 31,600 | 10,533,333 | |
| Hillside terraces | " | 73,653 | 35,138 | 11,712,666 | |
| Soil bunds | " | 8,575 | 1,985 | 661,666 | |
| Soil bunds (maintenance.) | " | 740 | 33 | 11,000 | |
| Check dams | " | 4,801 | 14,213 | 4,737,666 | |
| Earth dams repaired | " | 3 | 150 | 50,000 | |
| Micro ponds constructed | No. | 633 | 1,033 | 343,333 | |
| Trench | " | 6,148 | 5,710 | 1,903,333 | |
| Micro basins constructed | " | 942,180 | 255 | £5,000 | |
| Others (e.g. tech. team) | " | | 131 | 43,666 | |
| Farmers trained | " | 6,704 | 206 | 68,666 | |
| Seedlings produced/pitting | " | 14,118,728 | 1,476 | 492,000 | |
| Seedlings planted | " | 27,610,164 | 4,356 | 1,452,000 | |
| Area enclosed | Ha | 16,393 | 1,142 | 380,666 | |
| Nurseries operational | No | 126 | 363 | 121,000 | |
| Farmers trained | " | - | 22 | 7,333 | |
| Road construction/maint. | Km | 2,705 | 12,781 | 4,260,333 | |
| Small scale irrigation | No | 8 | 1,563 | 521,000 | |
| Totals | | | 106,659 | 35,553,000 | |

Source: ¹ Data aggregated from REST IFSP/FFR as part of researcher based evaluation. Reports based on major food assistance based activities only. Other inputs not included.

² Labour days calculated based on 3Kg/person day at respected work norm

The achievements presented above are considerable and bear testament to the need for clear political support, guaranteed resource availability, a high degree of, coordination, implementation capacity and work ethics (grassroots commitment to development). The figures for EC funded activity only show that over a four year period with each adult in Tigray conducting some 35 labour days each.

Based on focal group discussions around EGS planning and coordination, problems stated by REST and Woreda officials included: lack of Woreda awareness of the NPDPM; lack of field based planning equipment; relatively limited lower level administrative resources for EGS; limited implementation capacity at the community level; poor linkage between EGS and other less relief focused interventions; preparation of shelf projects not preferred to projects in annual plan although community involvement in planning still to be strengthened⁹⁶; donor finance tends to be linked to short-term interventions and not multi-annual commitments.

These implementation limitations are marginally offset by the highest level political support for FFR/EGS and considerable experience in EGS related planning and implementation. The strong regional work ethic of local communities combined with

⁹⁵ It is also interesting to note, that such has been the influence of REST, that the present regional food security strategy and programme are largely derived from REST's EC funded IFSP.

⁹⁶ This too is ambiguous as the national policy requires full integration between EGS and development planning conducted by line departments.

the well structured and organised Baito system for local governance are clearly strengths as is a strong regional policy framework for anti poverty alleviation programmes headed by REST. It was considered by REST officials that the strong linkage between relief and development interventions resulted from policy familiarisation and the availability of motivated staff at all levels of administration. Many testify that these characteristics almost exclusively exist in Tigrai.

The results of the general programme evaluation of REST highlight the following key results related to social protection through EGS in Tigrai:

- a) Relation with NPDPM and EGS Guidelines: REST has developed the concept of EGS based on its own day to day experiences and although there is broad concurrence in policy, REST does not utilise the DPPC EGS Guideline or concept directly although gratuitous relief aid is minimised so as to maximise the productivity benefit of food based transfers;
- b) EGS Piloting: REST has not been involved in EGS piloting and is unlikely to do so. In fact, REST is fully integrated into the regional development framework and works closely with DPPC in all areas of cooperation. It is interesting to note that according to the regional DPPB commissioner, they have not been active in disseminating the EGS Guideline but acknowledge that the linkage between relief and development in the region has been forged over a considerable period of time and is not in need of urgent reform;
- c) Planning and Implementation Capacity: It is to be recognised that the capacity to plan and implement EGS/FFR related projects within Tigrai is considerable, as evidenced by the number of labour days generated on a massive scale, despite the fact that the institutional structures are identical with other regions. The focal institutions for planning are at the Woreda and Zonal levels for public works programmes tend to be the BoA and the Commission for the Sustainable Agricultural and Environmental Rehabilitation of Tigrai (SAERT);
- d) Non-Food Capital Input Provisions: Despite the strong donor funding relations maintained by REST input provision for EGS still remains a major bottleneck for the implementation of public works. In recent years, input funding has improved although lack of field equipment remains a major constraint;
- e) Targeting: The issue of targeting in Tigrai has attracted considerable discussion ever since the publication of the GMRP report of December 1997 on 'Food Aid Targeting in Ethiopia: A Study of Food Insecurity and Food Aid Distributions' where it was claimed that errors of exclusion actually exceed errors of inclusion and that ~ 40 per cent of Tigrai's food insecure are not on the food aid rolls while nearly 60 per cent of food secure households are (Pg. 12, GMRP, 1997). However these results and the methodologies used are disputed by both REST and the TNRS. Indeed, one of the challenges of successful EGS programmes is the linkage between relief and development as the capacity of local institutions increases. This often means that project areas rather than vulnerable communities are targeted and while from a developmental perspective this is effective targeting, from a relief perspective it may not be. Adoption of self-targeting in Tigrai has not been undertaken;

- f) Wage Transfers: Wage transfers under the REST programme have been predominantly food based as a result of relief-based assistance. However, a number of REST interventions, such as the REST/EC Tigray Micro Projects Programme (MPP) have also channelled cash based transfers in exchange for labour on public works. The average daily wage in Tigray varies around 7 to 8 Birr per day although under the MPP, cash based transfers were fixed at 6 Birr with the 2 Birr offset being seen as community contribution to the project. Research conducted at the time showed that approximately 60 per cent of households preferred cash payments at 6 Birr per day. Those preferring cash cited the logistical problems of transporting food and those preferring food cited the problems of household cash management for their preference.
- g) Providing Employment on a Labour Demand Basis: As a result of higher capacities for developmental planning the problems related to EGS/FFR programmes operated by REST are less affected by the ability to respond to labour demand. Planning of EGS works equals 100% of expected forthcoming labour demand, in line with the EGS Guideline;
- h) The Generation of Productive Assets: Participant observation shows that REST has tended to prioritise catchment rehabilitation as a principle activity including soil and stone bunds, check dams, area closure and reforestation. OPRs have shown however, that conservation by itself does not directly stimulate agricultural productivity at the level needed to increase the income levels of households. In recent years however, a more integrated approach to watershed rehabilitation focused on catchment and command area development including productivity-based activities has been introduced⁹⁷.
- i) Community Participation and Gender Sensitivity of LIPW: Successes in EGS result from the high degree of political support and the strength of the Baito system at both Woreda and Tabia levels in particular. REST remains a grassroots based organisation and accordingly, the level of contractual partnership between communities and the formal REST administration is high. REST has been cautious to foster support for development and reflect the needs of the community in terms of prioritising projects and involvement in implementation and evaluation. Community based evaluation (the 'gem gam') is an important aspect of planning and where grassroots concerns are raised.

7.2.2.2 TFSD/EC Promotional EGS Programme

In 1996 by the European Commission Food Security and Food Aid Programme (B7-200) funded the Tigray Employment Generation Scheme (EGS). The programmes was deigned, jointly by the researcher and regional administration, as a regional support programme under the overall responsibility of MEDaC⁹⁸ to support the GoE NPDPM

⁹⁷ Despite the huge volume of public action in Tigray to rehabilitate the environment once again in 2000 over 30 per cent of the 3.5 million population were in need of food aid.

⁹⁸ It is interesting to note that the original programmes were intended to be implemented with federal DPPC however, the EC was concerned about the relatively poor performance of DPPC and wanted to strike a more development-oriented approach to the programmes. Accordingly, MEDaC became the focal institution and direct relationships were established with the regional administrations.

in general and in support of the DPPC EGS Guidelines in particular (the researcher was the coordinator). The programme promotes the planning and implementation of EGS planned in a participatory manner and is targeted towards able-bodied vulnerable members of the 16 project Woredas. The main focus of the programmes is to assist in the institutionalisation of EGS as a principle and to focus on the achievement of developmental linkages as has been done successfully in Maharashtra. Based upon the Maharashtra experience the concept of participatory micro watershed development was selected to integrate conservation and productivity to livelihoods⁹⁹. The regional support programme is extended between the EC and the regions of Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray for a period of two years at a value of €6,620,000. The main programme components for the Tigray EGS include, as shown in Figure 7.3 below:

Figure 7.3 Components of the ANRS/EC EGS Watershed Development Approach

| Characteristic | EGS |
|-----------------|---|
| Component One | Human Resource Development (staffing, training, study visits (Maharashtra), policy support, formulation, dissemination) |
| Component Two | Physical Capacity Building (tools, equipment, office support, motorcycles, gabions etc.) |
| Component Three | Project Implementation (cash for work through integrated micro watershed development) |
| Component Four | Research and Studies (research into key areas of EGS) |

The EGS programme was conceptualised as a way to maximise the productive impact of relief operations to contribute towards both short and longer term objectives. According to the regional food security coordinator, the “regional government see the programme as much as a vehicle for introducing new policy measures as a fund for the implementation of livelihood related interventions”. The EGS focuses around a Participatory Micro Watershed Development Programme through the utilisation of relief resources integrated into interventions in rural roads, rural finance and water supply.

The micro watershed provides the planning framework for EGS and cash based transfer arrangements are being implemented. Through study visits to Maharashtra a series of seminars, workshops and other field based training, awareness on EGS and food security issues has been raised at regional, Zonal and Woreda levels. The role of MEDaC in facilitating financial and administrative coordination functions, as the formal interlocutor, for the programme. MEDaC has, through the National Authorising Officer’s (NAO) Office, Agricultural Development Department and Food Security Unit been involved in both the formal programme approval on detailed comments relating to first programme documents drafts. Many elements of the human

The recently presented regional food security strategies and programmes gave rise to the newly established Regional Food Security Desks/Units and these new institutions were then

⁹⁹ The details of this approach are discussed in more detail in Middlebrook P, and Haile, M (2000) ‘Integrated Micro Watershed Development for Enhanced Food Security in Tigray: A PANACEA?’, A Paper presented at the Food Security Symposium, Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa, 10-11th March 2000

resource development and physical capacity building activities have been fulfilled as expected under the work plan and cost estimate. It is to be recognised that EGS projects have been programmed to provide a focus for the capacity building components rather than on the basis of project implementation alone.

Importantly, over 50 trained staff members are employed in the Food Security Desk as a result of the EGS programme and documentation centers on EGS have also been established in the regional FSUs. The establishment of the regional food security unit as an executive body within the regional council allows a number of opportunities to be taken with regard to integration and coordination¹⁰⁰. EC¹⁰¹ OPRs show that capacity building has helped to staff Regional, Zonal and Woreda level structures and to increase working capacity through targeted physical inputs such as stationary and furniture. Since the project inception, the only real concern has been the relatively slow decentralisation of the programme to Woredas where capacity building support, outside equipment and furniture, has so far not been provided on any substantial scale. Objectives of the micro watershed approach are to rehabilitate natural watershed resources and increase the sustainable utilisation of these resources for the improvement of the household livelihood situation. The overall and project level objectives for the EGS watershed programme are provided in Figure 7.4 as agreed by the regional Government and researcher.

Figure 7.4 Overall and Project Level Objectives for the Tigrai EGS/Watershed Project

| Overall Objectives | Project Level Objectives |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Poverty reduction through development of Renewable Natural Resources (RNR) by absorbing labour through EGS; b) Eco-Restoration/improve natural resource base and land and water productivity; c) Improve incomes and returns from marginal lands; d) Improve living conditions of rural people; e) Improve living conditions of weaker sections, disadvantaged groups, including women; f) Improve fodder/fuel availability; g) Foster community participation; h) Encourage non-land based economic activities for the poor. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Promote sustainable use and management of natural resources b) Improve land/water productivity c) Improve crop yields d) Improve small holder agriculture e) Improve socio-economic conditions of disadvantaged groups/women f) Improve employment opportunities for women, small farmers, agricultural labourers g) Human resources development h) Cost-benefit sharing by community i) Improve people's awareness j) Strengthen community participation k) Empowerment of women. |

It is unusual for such detailed objectives to have been set for EGS and the capacity building programme explicitly targets building planning capacities for EGS works through improved human resources. These objectives were set with local communities and Woredas reflecting the priority needs of the rural poor themselves. In the design and implementation of the programme there are five key phases of the linkage between EGS and the micro watershed approach. These five phases provide an

¹⁰⁰ The organisation arrangements for the implementation of the regional food security programme within which the EGS programme is integrated is provided in Appendices 7a.

¹⁰¹ The logical framework for the EC funded EGS support intervention is provided in appendices 7b. The linkage between overall objectives, project purpose, results and activities is summarised.

opportunity for planning micro watershed development initiatives in an integrated manner through the channelling of resources, and focusing of EGS labour, over a period of 5 to 10 years. The following five-phased approach has been adopted under the programme to allow for greater integration of EGS into development planning i) integrated micro watershed planning ii) micro watershed rehabilitation using labour intensive methods (EGS) iii) productivity growth and diversification iv) extension and socio-economic support services and v) secondary service support. The details behind each phase are provided in Appendix 13. The selection criteria developed for the micro watersheds under the EGS programme, based upon a LOGframe workshop are presented in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5 Criteria for the Selection of Micro Watersheds under EGS Planning

| | |
|----------|---|
| A | Agro-climatic Data: |
| a) | Predominance of rainfed farming; |
| b) | Hill region; |
| c) | Extent of natural resource degradation (watershed areas with alarming soil erosion level, forest destruction etc.); |
| d) | Low rainfall region |
| B | Infrastructure Data: |
| a) | Extent of area under major/medium irrigation; |
| b) | Extent of villages without drinking water facilities; |
| c) | Availability of services such as credit, grinding mill etc.; |
| d) | Irrigated land negligible |
| C | Socio-economic Data: |
| a) | % of female headed households; |
| b) | productivity of major crops; |
| c) | access to health and education institutions; |
| d) | nutritional status of children and duration where there is food shortage; |
| e) | number of households receiving food assistance; |
| f) | access to road; |
| g) | existence of NGOs, bilateral and multilateral agencies; |
| h) | disabilities among the economically active members of the community; |
| i) | potential of the areas for various development projects (Agriculture, mining etc.); |
| j) | estimated rate of morbidity and mortality among women and children (vulnerability of children and women to various diseases); |
| k) | average land and livestock holding per household; |
| l) | the magnitude of male out migration and % of families out migrating; |
| m) | absence of additional (off-farm) such as remittance, daily labour etc. |
| D | Other Data and Information |
| a) | Size of watershed and availability of land |
| b) | Yields of major crops |
| c) | If possible, the watershed in one PA |
| d) | Population density |
| e) | No other donor-aided watershed project in the area |
| f) | Community interest and previous interventions (e.g. areas where there is a micro dam) |

Source: Middlebrook, P (1999) Micro Watershed Selection Criteria in Tigray, resulting from LOGframe planning workshops.

These criteria compliment those stipulated under the national policy and importantly recognise the importance of monitoring livelihoods from the start based on the collection of panel survey data to form a baseline. The range of activities falling under this approach is large, certainly when compared to activities currently funded under WFP and SCF EGS support programmes. Co-ordinating between sectors is therefore a vital for the success of such as initiative.

Research results show that each watershed possess different problems and potentials leading to a basket of complimentary activities as shown in Table 7.6. These activities were chosen as a result of a detailed evaluation of past experience and comparison with the Maharashtra programme.

Table 7.6 Micro Watershed Activities Supported through the TNRS/EC EGS Programme

| Activity | Sub-activity |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| a) Soil and Water Conservation Works: | Bench terracing, Check dams, Contour bunding, Farms ponds, Gully checks, Vegetative barriers, Waterways, Runoff collection and reuse, Shallow-well exploitation, protection of degraded areas(area closure) |
| b) Input distribution/plantings, etc. | Bund planting, Distribution of seeds, Fruit trees on bunds, Planting on private lands, Seedlings distribution, Crop production demonstrations, Orchard horticulture demonstrations, Forage plants |
| c) Agricultural activities | Purchase and distribution of pumps, horticulture and fruit nursery establishment, utilising all tree nursery lands for fruit/forage seedling production, Grazing land improvement, improved fodder, bee keeping |
| d) Rural water supply | Construction of water points, inventory and maintenance of the existing water supply, training water committees. training hand dug well technicians |
| e) Rural roads | training of labour foreman, construction of rural roads |
| f) Energy saving devices | Production of improved appliances, promotion of the improved appliances |
| g) Alternative employment | Skill training, Credit |
| h) Community health services | Refresher course and recruitment of for CHA and TBAs, strengthening clinics/health posts(medical supplies and equipment), environmental health and sanitation, malaria control, promotion of rural pharmacies |
| i) Informal education | Construction of reading centres, Literacy program |

These activities have been defined based upon the study visits to Maharashtra and provider a far wider approach to EGS related projects, both in terms of their integration and area development. The programme is intended to ground the national policy and importantly to provide a viable means to link the huge volume of relief resources through more productivity based EGS works. The following issues summarise the key findings of the programme evaluation:

- a) Relation with NPDPM and EGS Guidelines: The EC funded regional support programme to the TNRS has explicitly utilised the NPDPM and EGS Guideline as the basis for programme interventions. A basic EGS planning cycle has been detailed as a means of clearly establishing linkages between the different phases of planning, finance, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. However, despite the centrality of the EGS policy guideline, regional officials remain reluctant about integrating the details of the guideline as Tigray has already adopted its own particular planning framework for EGS. Fewer than 15 per cent of regional officials interviewed had read the official guideline although of those who have read it, most find it appropriate.
- b) EGS Piloting: At the express request of the regional government, the programme, which was originally seen as a piloting exercise, was termed a

- 'capacity building programme'¹⁰² as it was believed that substantial experience in EGS already existed, as the study of REST has shown and is undeniably correct. What has been piloted is the integration of EGS into a broader approach to rural development planning and the EGS is fully integrated with the regional food security programme as a social protection instrument.
- c) Planning and Implementation Capacity: The planning and implementation capacity for EGS in Tigray as a result of over twenty years of experience. However, three key elements would appear to be lacking, as the research has shown, as follows;
 - a) a clear concept of how to prioritise social protection measures from an investment perspective to maximise the positive impact on rural livelihoods;
 - b) the selection and utilisation of appropriate monitoring indicators for hunger eradication initiatives; and,
 - c) the lack of human resource capacities with a clear understanding of how to develop integrated micro-watershed development programmes.
 - d) Non-Food Capital Input Provisions: The provision of capital inputs including tools, equipment and capital inputs for project implementation were found to be lacking as funding delays in the EC, as a result of the conflict, undermined tender evaluation processes of items including the procurement of 70 motorcycles for Woreda mobility and 14,000m³ gabion wire to strengthen the conservation work conducted in gullies and river diversions.
 - e) EGS Targeting for Micro Watershed Development: Targeting under the programme has been in the hands of the regional authorities and community targeting conducted. While self targeting is supported in principle by the region the process of preparing trials has been delayed because of the recent conflict. A major targeting problem is that integrated micro-watershed development requires huge labour demand and availability which can not be met through the normal demand for EGS even if labour is drawn from other catchment areas up to 5-7 Km distant. The phased approach to integrated micro watershed development requires in the early phases consistent labour supply and resources so that catchment rehabilitation can be completed on schedule and in accordance with the agreed participatory development plan. Demand driven works calls a pure EGS approach in to question unless resources and labour demand are available from alternative sources.
 - f) Wage Transfers: Wage transfers are made in cash as the policy of the EC is to maximise cash based transfers so as to minimise the transaction costs involved in food aid¹⁰³ and to maximise the livelihood impact. In field based research,

¹⁰² It is to be noted that the EC deliberately decided to work direct with the region, and not through NGOs, as a way to focus on spearheading change within the public administration. The establishment of the Regional FSD as the main interlocutor for this project has been helped by the high level political support afforded to food security by the administration. Within the regional council offices, the FSD now accommodates a full wing of the second floor and is well staffed by qualified and experienced personnel.

¹⁰³ Recent figures of the WFP Emergency Operations (EMOP) in Ethiopia, put the unit cost of relief food at between US\$ 500-600/Mt including all ITSH and supervision costs. The EC standard

EGS participants showed a clear preference for cash based transfers as long as the wage value was broadly commensurate with the market value of the relief ration (3Kg). Cash wages reportedly saved on logistic requirements and, as a liquid asset, supporting the local market economy in a more diverse way – providing choice to workers.

- g) The Generation of Capital Assets: In Tigray, an overemphasis on conservation on common land has undermined the direct productivity incentive of individuals. Insufficient attention has been paid to constructing percolation structures and ground water extraction techniques to maximise the benefits of the conservation directly. The main capital asset claimed by workers were cash payments although they held out hope for the overall productivity gains planned for the command area development. As markets are rather restrictive for perishable products, farmers expressed concerns that any productivity gains may not be marketable, although surplus production would still show a substantial impact.

7.3 Programme Efficiency, Effectiveness and Relevance

The case studies presented above, provide an opportunity to begin to evaluate issues related to efficiency, effectiveness and relevance all of which are critical areas for national policy analysis. The strength of a policy lies in its implementation and the studies highlight the different policy and institutional issues through practical programme evaluation methods. The NPDPM, and in particular EGS as the policy cornerstone, need to be evaluated on the impact on short term relief and longer term development objectives among which efficiency, effectiveness, relevance and sustainability are key cross cutting issues.

7.3.1 Implementation Efficiency¹⁰⁴

Detailed results from the case studies suggest that changes in overall programme efficiency take place only when sufficient funding and organisation capacities exist. Presently the capacity to deliver relief and development interventions efficiently is compromised by problems highlighted in this and previous chapters.

a) Efficiency In Meeting Relief Objectives

Relief Distribution System: Results show that the overall efficiency of the relief distribution system, in providing timely assistance in response to specific needs, remains low, particularly if the added complications of meeting both relief and development objectives are included. The overall efficiency of the system is retarded

calculation, adopted by LFSU, is of US\$ 250/Mt. Either way round, between 40-60 per cent of the food aid costs is associated with delivery and as such this remains a significant transfer inefficiency.

¹⁰⁴ Implementation efficiency is assessing whether the activities carried out have been done so efficiently in order to reach the projected results. Important questions include have the means of the project been sufficiently transformed through the projects activities into the various project results. Could the same or similar results have been achieved at a lower cost?

by the fact that slack agricultural periods, the period of greater labour demand, occur before the period of food aid availability. The linkage between early warning and response is clearly poor. Given that the present availability of assistance is determined by the annual post harvest crop assessments made by DPPC/EWS, conducted in October and November for Meher producers, with the formal results only presented to the donor community in December. The food aid response time (decisions, pledges, logistics, internal transport and offloading etc.) frequently takes between 3 and 9 months and often food does not reach the mouths of needy groups until May to September, which is traditionally the scarcity period in the agricultural cycle. In addition, because of the transient nature of vulnerability and entitlement decline, the constant reassessment of vulnerable Woredas, PAs and households keeps fluid the overall efficiency of the relief response. In other areas, roads are inaccessible during the rainy period and food can not be transported even if areas of need, and resources, are identified and available. In 2000 and 2001, the provision of over 1,000,000 mt of food aid through the ports of Djibouti and Berbera, not Asseb because of the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea, has been even further delayed. Other priorities too such as fertiliser import also delay the response time. Given that the period of greater labour demand is from January to March, the lack of relief assistance makes the targeting of relief food through EGS often impossible. Under EGS, efficiency is also subjected to delays in planning EGS works (for example contouring for soil and water conservation works) delays works commencement and therefore wage transfers. Under the SCF ISP experience, problems of the uncertainty of the arrival of relief resources is passed on to both the administration (whether to commence EGS now without guarantee of being able to pay) and also to households (work on EGS and not be paid or migrate to find other income sources?)

Targeting: Results obtained during field assessments did not provide evidence that the most nutritionally vulnerable were always targeted first. In fact, often under EGS, it is blanket area targeting that is conducted to fulfil the muster roll quota (labour supply needed to fulfil project demand). Under EGS, targeting was either as, or more likely to be targeted to those most able to work and those who were nutritionally more secure. Often, food secure households were as likely to receive food aid as those less food secure. Targeting errors on inclusion and exclusion also impact upon efficiency although results obtained have been inconclusive although clearly vary from as little as 10 to 50 per cent depending on which literature is reviewed and which area of the country is taken as the sample.

Nutritional Objectives: Rural households in Amhara and Tigray have long struggled to meet nutritional requirements based on on-farm and off-farm incomes. Over the past thirty years, for many households in deficit producing areas of Amhara and Tigray, nowadays also in surplus producing areas, food aid assistance has become an increasingly important livelihood asset. However, given that the period of nutritional support, for Meher producing areas is from May to September, the nutritional impact of working on EGS from January to March is compromised. Research shows that nutritional surveys were not routinely conducted in Amhara or Tigray as the basis for food relief assistance or for EGS interventions for that matter. The EGS programmes

of SCF in Makdella, WFP in Belessa, REST and ANRS/EC in Tigray were planned to intervene in known vulnerable Woredas where ongoing food aid assistance was being provided. The lack of nutritional monitoring by the government is alarming but suggesting that in most cases food aid is provided as entitlement support.

Results of wealth ranking exercises suggest that food aid is seen by households, as a hand out to protect the sale of important productive assets such as oxen. The efficiency of reaching nutritional objectives is also very much affected by the fact that pressure to monetise food aid rations to subsidise other expenditure requirements is also noted. The work of the TNRS and EC in Tigray suggest that intra-household consumption (males eat before children and woman) also has an important impact on the efficiency of meeting nutritional goals as often, food aid rations only provide cereals and not supplementary oil (for fat) and pulses (for protein) as shown in Table 7.7 below prepared by the researcher. In fact, the EGS Guideline explicitly states that EGS wages are to be set at 3Kg per person/day however, clearly, this means that despite the requirement for 2,000 Kcal per person, in fact, present payments provide only nutrition for between 1,700 (whole wheat and sorghum) or 1,800 (maize) when provided to an individual. However, given that the individual is in fact receiving relief assistance on behalf of a family of 5, based on 3 kg a day for 22 labour days a month, if the resources for full payment are available, a total of 66 kg will be paid a month or 396 kg for 6 months. However, in Ethiopia, because of resource restriction, very few families receive the full payment.

Table 7.7 Nutritional Values of Selected Foods Commodities Used in EGS Payments ¹

| Ration | Ration g/pd | Kcal/ 100g | Kcal/ Ratio | Gram Protein/ 100g | Gram Protein ratio | Gram fat/ 100g | Gram fat / ratio |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Wheat Whole | 500g | 340 | 1,700 | 10 | 50 | 2 | 10 |
| Maize Whole | 500g | 360 | 1,800 | 9 | 45 | 4 | 20 |
| Sorghum | 500g | 340 | 1,700 | 8 | 40 | 3 | 15 |
| Veg oil | 15g | 890 | 130 | - | - | 100 | 15 |
| Pulses | 50g | 340 | 170 | 22 | 11 | 1 | .5 |
| | 2,000g | | | | | | |

¹ t/15g Vegetable Oil/50g Pulses = 2,000 Kcal per day.

Wage Transfer Medium and Value: Wages can be calculated in both in nutritional and financial values depending upon market values and whether payment are made in cash or kind. Under the national policy 3 Kg per person day (in fact a work norm set on a piece rate basis) is to be provided as the basic food relief supplement. This is equal, once averaged out for each working day, to only 1,700 to 1,800 Kcal/person/day although depending on whether wheat, sorghum or maize is paid, the nutritional value differs. Table 7.8 presents basic nutritional analysis for in kind transfer arrangements under EGS and accordingly, it is proposed that the current value of pure cereal wages should be maintained.

Table 7.8 Basic Nutritional Criteria for EGS In Kind Payments for Wheat¹

| Ration | | Male Kcal (2,200/pd) ² | Female ³ Kcal (1,800/pd) ² | Average Ration/day |
|--------|--|---|--|-----------------------|
| A | Wheat Whole (based on 340 Kcal/100g) | 558g | 441g | 2.5 kg |
| | Veg Oil (based on 15g = 130 Kcal) | 15g | 15g | 15g |
| | Pulses (based on 50g = 170 Kcal) | 50g | 50g | 50g |
| | Daily Wheat Ration to be set at | 2.8kg | 2.2Kg | 2.5Kg |
| B | Wheat Whole (based on 340 Kcal/100g) | 647g | 529g | 588g |
| | Daily Ration (- pulses/oil to be set at) | 3.2Kg | 2.9kg | 3.05 kg |
| Total | | 2,200 | 1,800 | 2,000 |

Source: Middlebrook, P. (1999), Nutritional Requirements for EGS Transfers

¹ Wheat is used as the basis for the calculation as wheat is the dominant EGS transfer wage

² Based on figures provided in "Nutritional Aspects of Emergency Food Relief, 1988, WHO

³ These figures are not for lactating mothers

Under **Ration A** (calculated to include wheat + vegetable oil + pulses) the daily wheat ration to be set for males between ages 10-60 is calculated at 558g/person/day and that for woman at 441g/person/day. Given an average family of 5, the average daily wheat ration should be set at 2.5 Kg/person/day if both oil and pulses are provided and one labourer is providing for the household. However, under **Ration B**, where only cereals are to be provided, males should receive 647g person/day and woman 529g person/day or, also based on the average family size, a total of 3.05 kg per person day. It should be noted that these proposed rations are used in the national policy and that cereal payments at the proposed rate may provide adequate calories but not necessarily nutritional needs (fat and protein)¹⁰⁵. These calculations are based upon standard nutritional value calculations for food for work programmes. Under the WFP EGS, in kind payments in wheat and sorghum have been made and results confirm that anywhere between 10 and 100 per cent is then monetised on local markets. Food aid payments are received at the same time and location market prices tend to fall further reducing the wage payment even further. Participants often sell all their in kind wages as transport from the distribution points to homes is reduced. The case studies show that options for payments in both kind and or cash are important. Results from the TNRS/EC EGS show that cash based transfers at the rate of Birr 8 per day are utilised and that this, equal to the normal agricultural wage, allows the purchase of between 2.5 – 4.0 Kgs of cereal depending on market prices and community purchased. Experience under the EC Concerns have been expressed by the TNRS and ANRS that in fact the value of food aid payments should be increased if EGS is the mode of wage transfer and particularly if oil and pulses are excluded.

Payment Procedures: The efficiency of relief payments is poor in Ethiopia as resources are often not pre-positioned as required under the national policy¹⁰⁶ for the

¹⁰⁵ Under the Zambian Safety Net for Vulnerable Groups daily wages were paid as follows maize meal (500g), HEPS (180g), Vegetable oil (15g), pulses (20g) and sugar (20g).

¹⁰⁶ Payments to EGS labourers are made either monthly or fortnightly, as agreed between the labourers and the implementing agency. The date and time of payments will be decided by the

reasons outlined above. Under the policy, wages should be paid either fortnightly or monthly however, under the WFP, SCF and REST interventions the delay in payment is often as long as six months. Under the TNRS/EC EGS the payments are made in cash and payments were made in accordance with the national policy – every two weeks.

Cost Efficiency of Relief: The case studies do not provide sufficient information to assess cost efficiency for relief. However, the general costs associated to food aid delivery are extortionate and equal 40 to 60 per cent of the value of the commodity itself. In real terms this means that 60 per cent of the resource goes towards subsidising the transport sector and not in transferring resources to vulnerable groups. This means that the cost inefficiency equals between 40 and 60 per cent at a basic level of analysis. On the other hand, the cash transfers made under the TNRS/EC EGS are subject to less than 1 per cent transaction costs leaving the overall efficiency of cash based payments on the supply side as extremely favourable.

b) Efficiency In Meeting Development Objectives

Input Resourcing Efficiency¹⁰⁷: The case studies reveal that if sufficient resources are made available, the efficiency of the implementation process increases. In deed, as transport services, infrastructure and the provision of both vehicles and motorcycles considerably increased the time available to Zonal and Woreda staff to follow up on project related activities, adequate capital inputs improves efficiency. Another issue, which is revealed in all case studies is the importance of both field equipment and tools to assist in planning and works itself. Lack of planning equipment clearly delays field preparation as low quality tools also undermine the efficiency of work gangs.

Efficiency of Labour Gangs: Another important efficiency issue relates to the scale of the intervention and the numbers of workers employed on site. The larger the works the more work gangs (participants) will be involved. Focal group discussions with EGS workers suggests that if the works are too large, successful monitoring of works completed (works efficiency based on work norms) also become more difficult to assess. The motivation of workers is reduced when payment were late or when the intervention was not of direct personal benefit. As gangs are of mixed competency, workers often complained that wages depended upon work done, disadvantaging less abled bodied individuals.

implementing agency and labourers. It is recommended that payment be made at weekends and on holidays. If the food situation is critical, one advance payment of up to two weeks wages may be made to labourers at the beginning of the EGS, at the discretion of the implementing agency. This may be necessary if the EGS starts late, or following a sudden-onset disaster. Payments are made using coupons which can be exchanged for grain at the designated local Relief Food Outlet (RFO) (DPPC, 1997)

¹⁰⁷ The issue of 'guaranteeing the food resource' is discussed in an excellent short note prepared by John Graham on the problems of planning EGS is resource availability is uncertain. He explores the implications for Woreda staff and farmers. The work is one of the outputs of the SCF ISP.

Efficiency of Project Planning: Project planning costs (money and time) varied tremendously between case studies. It is interesting to note, if not a little obvious, that the more comprehensive the planning undertaken (WFP LLPP), the higher the costs associated and vice versa. The lowest costs for the case studies shown were those of SCF under the Makdella Woreda EGS programme. An additional variable, of importance was the extent to which, the greater the planning capacity and experience among line departments, largely observed in Tigray, the more efficiently detailed integrated plans were developed.

Cost Efficiency of Development Planning: It was not possible to calculate figures for cost efficiency in development planning as the inputs (food aid at 3Kg person/day) and the outputs were not documented based on field assessments but rather on the basis of standard calculations. For example, the work norm for the construction of 1 km of rural access road (RR10) takes on average 2,000 person days at 3 Kg/day this equals 6 mt of cereals. Accordingly if 50 mt was utilised on road construction works the field officers simply calculate activity output based on the standard norms (50 mt equals 8.3 Kms road). This practice builds a false picture of activity achievements and does not allow for cost efficiency to be calculated. Another problem relates to the value of the resource paid by the donor. For example, 50 mt is equivalent to US\$ 12,500 (at US\$ 250/mt) at EC supported food aid prices and US\$25,000 for WFP supported food aid interventions (at US\$ 500/mt). Based on the case study analysis, Table 7.9 identifies important efficiency issues affecting the timely delivery of food through EGS and the achievement of development objectives.

Table 7.9 Analysis of the Efficiency of EGS Based on Case Studies

| Level | Nutritional Effects of EGS | Efficiency |
|-------|--|--|
| 1 | Enable nutritional security | Extremely poor access to health services affecting overall health status (worms, diarrhoea) affecting nutritional status irrelevant of food aid deliveries. Overall efficiency low because of late food aid deliveries, logistics, targeting errors, distribution delays, storage. |
| 2 | Enable access to surplus income | Food savings allowing nutritional security to endure beyond the period of the public works operation demonstrated. Food aid monetisation in all sites surveyed. |
| 3 | Enable food stocks, cash and capital savings build-up and investment | EGS provides increased household food stocks. However, household surveys did not show that savings were built up because of EGS and investment opportunities leading to sustainable livelihoods were not observed. |
| 4 | Create enduring community economic assets | The wider benefits of the public works did build assets, but the efficiency of works was not always satisfactory. Work norms are not adequately fixed and payments therefore differ. |

The details of these efficiencies need to be further studied by both the government and agencies involved so that standards efficiency cost ratios can be established. These have not been possible to establish under this research.

7.3.2 Implementation Effectiveness¹⁰⁸

The effectiveness of EGS has been assessed upon the same objective split (relief and development objectives) as under the efficiency section. The effectiveness of EGS as a relief tool can be demonstrated through the attainment of nutritional targets and in principle through verifiable indicators. The effectiveness of development interventions might be measured through the ability to be absorb labour based on demand and create capital livelihood assets of a given value. However, the value of assets created and return on investment should not necessarily be greater than the costs of intervention because the first objective is relief oriented.

a) Effectiveness in Meeting Relief Objectives

Low Effectiveness of Relief Operations: The case studies clearly show that in fact relief objectives (3 kg per person per day) are not being met as all officials claimed that lack of resources restricted EGS works opportunities. This is also supported by the policy and institutional research results where senior officials themselves claimed that the NPDPM was not meeting relief needs. It is only on FFW related interventions (such as the WFP 2488) where wage transfer resources are built in to the cost of the project that wage rates are respected. Under EGS, the participants receive up to a maximum of 3 Kg but as little as 1 Kg per day depending on resource availability. Clearly, individuals receiving 2 kg per person/day for a family of five are in fact undermining their own nutrition still further rather than enhancing it. In addition, delays in distribution and payments of up to 6 months late severely undermine the effectiveness of relief operations. Support for this conclusion can be seen in the fact that the average Ethiopian still only consumes 1,700 Kcal per person/day which is well below the international food security threshold of 2,000 Kcals/person/day.

An example of the lack of effectiveness can be seen in the following illustration. In 1999/2000 the UK DFID funded SOS Sahel to supply 7,000 mt to be targeted to 40,000 beneficiaries in Kindo Koisha Woreda of SNNP. The value of the food aid is estimated at ~US\$ 3 million. Field-work, conducted at the end of the relief intervention, revealed that in many Kebeles in Kindo Koisha, hundreds of children were screened by InterAid France's Therapeutic feeding centre for admission. These children, despite the intervention, were all showing weight for height ratios of less than 80 per cent. The value of food per beneficiary was US\$ 75 per person and yet, considerable relief needs still existed. The 7,000 mt created 1,750,000 labour days or 43 labour days (SOS Sahel pays 4 Kg person/day) per beneficiary and yet, the relief situation was not fully stabilised. Poor targeting must also have played a considerable role. The surrounding 7 Woredas were only lucky enough to receive 200-300 mt of food aid assistance. The relief system is clearly not effective in meetings its objectives.

¹⁰⁸ Effectiveness assesses the extent to which the project results have contributed towards the achievement of the project purpose or whether this can be expected to happen in the future on the basis of the current results of the project.

In Amhara in 1999, lack of relief resources meant that mass out-migration and the consumption of famine foods (sama – nettle - in which even the roots were being consumed – this is exceptional) took place and even the leaves were made into bread. Again in 2000 in Gode, among other areas, the lack of available resources, and lack of political accountability of the regional government who did not respond, also saw thousands starving pastoralists who, having made their way through the desert, were unable to receive relief food distributions. The problems in Gode drew the attention of the international media after local and international NGOs, not the regional government, brought attention to the plight of the people to the outside World. All of these examples are challenges to the effectiveness of the NPDPM and to the constitutional rights of ordinary citizens.

Relief Redistribution: In case study areas Belessa and Makdella the redistribution (reduction of official ration to increase number of beneficiaries) of food aid locally (down to 2 Kg) was widespread and accordingly, few households received the official ration (3Kg). Redistribution was conducted when officials perceived that the needs were greater than available resources. A major challenge in realising the relief objectives of EGS is that wage rates should remain fixed and not be reduced as this would negatively affect the nutrition of workers.

Out Migration Reduced: If the reduction of out-migration from an area of extreme scarcity is an indicator of success, then by and large mass out-migration has been substantially halted as a result of food aid interventions in Amhara and Tigray. However, stabilisation of populations have reduced rural mobility and contributed towards a weak livelihood position for many households.

c) Effectiveness in Meeting Development Objectives

Creation of Capital Livelihood Assets: All case studies assessed demonstrated different levels of effectiveness as effectiveness relates to the achievement of results and the wider project purpose. The WFP EGS in Belessa clearly created assets that could potentially contribute towards the overall production effort although it is not possible to substantiate clear linkage between integrated catchment rehabilitation programmes and increased production as other important variables would need to be analysed. The catchment rehabilitation components of the EGS, as observed with WFP, REST, SCF and TNRS/EC, are subject to the following relative potential effectiveness (see Table 7.10 below)

Table 7.10 Potential Effectiveness of Different Catchment Rehabilitation Measures¹

| Measures | Potential Effectiveness | Problems Observed |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Stone Bunds | Good for soil moisture conservation, no water logging above the Bund, good defence against erosion, less space than soil bunds. | Highly labour intensive, good skills needed, often trampled by livestock when turning, rodents often reported (EC) |
| Soil Bunds | Soil moisture conservation, if well constructed no water logging above Bund. | Take up more space than stone bunds, less resistant to erosion, less permanent, |
| Stone faced trenches | Soil moisture conservation, ground water recharge, low evapotranspiration | Highly labour intensive, costly, takes up more area than stone and soil bunds, rodents |
| Cut Off Drains | Diverts surface runoff | Highly labour intensive, good training and experience essential, biological measures needed to strengthen structures |
| Check Dams | Reduces gully erosion and leads to rehabilitation | Highly labour intensive, need matching capital inputs, footings often not properly constructed, flash floods in bigger gullies |

¹ Results of field based observation in Belessa, Derga Ajun and Makdella Woredas

It is not possible without time series base line data on production by each agro-ecological Zone to measure the return on the investment. However, farmers report that the structures are effective in reducing runoff and increasing soil moisture content.

The EGS projects visited in the rural road sector varied tremendously in effectiveness as shown through various OPRs. Where planning, resources, matching capital inputs for culverts, and bridges etc, and technical support had been provided the construction quality was high. However, in areas where these inputs were not provisioned, often the quality of construction (drainage, diversions, lack of culverts, shapes of diversion banks, poorly designed drifts and splashes, compaction problems and most often – surveying) was extremely poor. Another point. Roads are like electricity cables – only carrying cars when there is both supply and demand between markets. Market integration therefore can only take place if these basic commodity markets are either surplus producing and linked to areas where purchasing power is effective. However, too many roads observed were not all weather and so were not in operation for only 5-6 months each year.

Effective Partnership Between DPPC and Line Departments, Zones and Woredas: All projects demonstrated that when effort was taken to integrate stakeholders into development planning from a resource perspective, partnership between DPPC and line necessarily increased. Such partnership however, were affected by resource availability and the formalisation of coordinated mandates.

Public and Private Interaction: The relationship between citizens and public administrations was reportedly substantially enhanced under EGS and effective communication channels were established, only to fall away once resources disappeared. Although clearly based on resource relationships, the level of community

(decision making) participation, particularly under the REST and WFP LLPP reportedly increased the effectiveness of labour power and project ownership.

Labour Effectiveness: All projects were labour intensive (typically between 80 to 90 per cent) and generated a substantial number of labour days – employment during scarcity periods – as anticipated by the policy. The volume of food aid to Amhara and Tigray in an average year is able to generate 109,330,619 labour days of employment.

Table 7.11 Employment Generation Potential of EGS in Amhara and Tigray¹

| Variable | Amhara | Tigray |
|---|------------|----------------------|
| Average Annual Food Aid Receipts (1990/2000) mt | 201,000 | 126,991 ² |
| Employment Generated at 3Kg day ¹ | 67,000,000 | 42,330,619 |
| Days per capita | 4.7 | 12 |
| Value per capita (kg) | 14.3 | 36 |
| Productivity Potential | | |
| Road construction Kms (2000/pd/km) | 33,500 | 21,165 |
| Stone Bunds Kms (150/pd/km) | 446,666 | 282,204 |

¹ Based on 80 per cent being provided through EGS and 20 per cent gratuitous

² Including figures for displaced since 1998

Table 7.11 presents the number of labour days that can be generated through average annual food rations based on the researchers calculations. If such labour potential is harnessed (as it has been done effectively in Tigray) the effectiveness of food aid interventions aimed at building assets is very much increased. Of course, sample results in Amhara and Tigray demonstrated that at present in Amhara only 24 per cent of food aid is channelled through EGS and in Tigray this increases to 46 per cent.

7.3.3 Relevance¹⁰⁹

Analysis shows that of Zonal and Woreda key informants interviewed the majority (77 per cent) stated that EGS was relevant as a Woreda based programme. However, if relevance for relief and development objectives are disaggregated, the picture changes:

Relevance for Relief: Nearly two thirds (65 per cent) of key informants interviewed stated that EGS was not appropriate as a relief response given the problems related to contingency planning, the timeliness of resource availability and redistribution problems related to resource restrictions as shown in all case studies. As a pure response to a relief situation, gratuitous relief was favoured. However, it was considered that the situation in Ethiopia in fact was not one of relief but rather one of chronic livelihood decline suggesting that if EGS were sufficiently resourced, then surplus labour could easily be absorbed as a relief function. Another important aspect relates to targeting. EGS acts to increase the effectiveness of targeting as cost sharing

¹⁰⁹ Assesses the problems to be solved and the project objectives against their physical and policy environment, i.e. the main features of the sector and pertinent policies of the various actors.

(labour and time) provided by participants meant that those with alternative income sources did not attend unless the household was labour rich.

Relevance for Development: EGS was considered by most (91 per cent) government officials interviewed to be relevant for Ethiopia as long as the projects selected were: chosen by local communities to address problems identified by them; mainstreamed into existing line department plans; focused on asset creation; fully resourced; gender sensitive; and, focused on food security outputs. At the level of EGS participants it is clear that gratuitous relief was favoured over EGS although. In Tigrai, there was a clear preference for FFR which allowed households to prioritise works that would be most productive in terms of time and effectiveness. EGS sample sites evidenced the need for EGS to reinforce the work ethic to assist in building assets.

7.4 Impact of EGS on Short Term Relief Needs

7.4.1 Nutritional Results

Nutritional Surveys: Results show that nutritional surveys were not routinely conducted in any of the case study areas and nutritional indicators were not used as the basis for receipt of relief assistance. In fact, the DPPC post harvest production assessments are used as the basis for food aid requests by the Woreda and until recently, non cereal based production data was not included as a consumption variable. In all EGS case studies (WFP, SCF, EC etc.) EGS programmes were targeted on the basis of chronic vulnerability only and not supported by nutritional monitoring.

Calorific Needs: Despite over thirty years of food aid deliveries to Ethiopia over 52 per cent of the country is food insecure with average daily consumption of approximately 1,770 Kcal per capita per day and in order to provide food on the level of aggregate national production, agricultural growth of 6.5 per cent per year is required (World Bank, 1998). At a quick glance, the answer to the question of impact of EGS on nutritional needs would appear to be negative. What clearly comes out in any analysis is that other variables (war, drought, health, water supply, vitamin deficiency etc.) remain more significant determinants of nutrition. Statistics shows that food aid receipts to Ethiopia on average equal 10 per cent of domestic production therefore equalling 10 per cent of present food intake. Calorific needs differ between sex and age.

Nutritional Deficit: In the case study areas of Amhara and Tigrai the impact on nutrition can be assessed based on food aid intake. If households are disaggregated on the basis of wealth then the value of food aid as a percentage of all calorific requirements a picture can be built up. On the basis of 2,000 Kcal requirements per person per day, for wheat, the cereal need is put at 214 Kg year pr person. Based on the above figure it is derived that an additional 230 Kcal is required each day to increase the daily calorie consumption from 1,770 to 2,000 kcal/day. This implies that at aggregate consumption levels that an additional 25 Kg per person per year would

bring the nutritional status of the individual up to 2,000 kcal. However, intestinal illnesses would reduce the calorific absorbance of the food to below that level.

Food Aid Intake: Food aid often represents over 40-50 per cent of an individual's diet although it remains insufficient to boost the level of nutrition towards food security. Even with timely and well targeted food aid, hunger still exists. In deed, the smaller the land holding per household the lower the income in rural areas. Accordingly, levels of household production decline, and therefore relief and other off farm income sources become more dominant. In south and north Wollo, depending on the agro-ecological Zone and wealth of the household, food aid equalled between 10 to 40 per cent of food intake whether under EGS or GR. However, often the better off received food aid above the size of their consumption deficit.

Wage Rates: Where the full EGS wage was paid to workers, nutritional security was highest as long as monetisation and intra-household consumption was equitable and based on highest need. Wealth ranking exercises did not sufficiently indicate the impact of EGS wages on livelihoods as too many other factors continuously created misleading results. However, rationing for EGS clearly undermined nutritional security as calorific consumption increases above 2,000 Kcal a day. Under the WFP, SCF and EC funded programmes the availability of resources was linked to full payment. Where wages were related to piece rate works the importance of work gangs was noted as a way to even out performance differences and wage rate differentials.

Asset Protection: Results show that food aid is also used as a form of livelihood support and the sale of important productive assets (such as oxen, ploughs etc.) were not sold because food aid through EGS or GR provided income smoothing capable of protecting assets. However, in Makdella and Belessa, when food aid payments were late heightened animal sales, at ever lower prices occurred. The greater the volume of food aid received, the lower the number of animal sales.

Monetisation and Commodity Exchange: In case study areas workers stated that EGS payments were often monetised to provide income for other important household purchases such as salt, sugar, oil, pulses, chillies, to repay loans etc. From a relief perspective, wage transfers for EGS provide increased household choice about consumption priorities and on many occasions, the researcher saw EGS food payments being monetised and used to pay medical, school and funeral fees.

Markets: The impact of EGS, and the related payment on food commodity markets is well known. Food aid dampens market prices and in effect allows greater levels of consumption because of increased effective purchasing power. On the other hand, food aid also reduced the competitiveness of local production and, while maybe not actually acting as a disincentive, it did not allow production incentives to be exploited. Under the EC funded EGS, cash based transfers were made to households in 14 Woredas of Amhara and price hikes in cereal markets were not observed based on grain market price information. Labour markets were positively affected by EGS as

semi-skilled workers were also employed on the EGS muster roll. None of the evaluation reports from WFP or SCF mentioned the impact of EGS on markets.

Loan Repayment Smoothing: Monetised food aid was used to repay loans that had been taken during a period when cereal prices were low (November to April) thus allowing households to repay as the market prices increased. However, EGS workers reported that monetised food aid was also used to repay agricultural credits.

Table 7.12 below provides a summary of important impacts observed through the case studies (positive and negative) of short-term objectives and based upon the results of three focal group discussions with secondary and primary stakeholders.

Table 7.12 Impact (Positive and Negative) of EGS on Short Term Relief Needs

| Short Term Relief Need | Characteristics | Impact Characteristic | | Observable Side Effects |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | | Positive | Negative | |
| Early Warning | Lead-in time | | EWS (Nov) EGS (Jan-April) | Delayed response |
| Logistics/timely inputs | Responsiveness | Cash Based Transfers | EGS (Jan-April) food (May-August) | Employment demand not met |
| Food/Cash transfers | Appropriateness | Cash | Food | Markets |
| Targeting | Most vulnerable | Inclusion | Exclusion | Nutrition Values |
| Employment generation | Transfer efficiency | Provides gainful Employment | Disrupts agricultural activity | Lowers dependency from GR |
| Technical support | Supervision | | Capacity problems | Monitoring not conducted |
| Economic efficiency | Cost/effect | Labour advantage | delivery and transaction costs | Donors not recipients pay |
| Gender | Bias/work burden | Encourages decision making | Increases women's work load | Even pregnant mothers work |
| Cultural Acceptability | Appropriateness | Reduced destitution | Dependency Migration | Work ethic |
| Community / state Interaction | Partnership and coordination | Partnership building | Top down | Skills transfer |
| Institutional Monitoring | Lesson learning | | Low capacity for monitoring | Impact not known |
| Evaluation | Conclusion/future | | Not conducted | No lessons learned |

The results show the potential negative side effects of EGS to be substantial although resource uncertainty and lack of capital inputs to boost capacities remain key implementation constraints. Clearly further research is required into these issues.

7.5 Impact on Long Term Productivity and Poverty Reduction

The link between labour intensive public works and food security in Ethiopia remain to be defined. Undoubtedly, the potential impact of 300 million labour days a year, if harnessed for productive asset creation, should provide a substantial contribution to the overall drive economic growth. Field based monitoring of activities conducted

under EGS so far, including REST, WFP LLPP and the TNRS/EC IMWD programme, do not appear to demonstrate a substantial shift in productivity. In deed, relief requirements for 2000 are as high as they were in 1994, 1984/5 without taking population growth into consideration. If food aid receipts are an indication of failure in self-provisioning, then so far the productivity of rural development per se in Ethiopia remains poor. Based on the case study results although particularly on the work of WFP, REST and the EC, the following results can be drawn.

7.5.1 EGS as Complimentary Resource for Growth

It is clear that economic growth and employment figures for Ethiopia are not contingent on the performance of EGS but rather contingent to overall economic performance – economic growth. The labour potential of EGS, if mainstreamed into the development process could provide productivity gains however, the labour force to be generated, is by very definition inefficient and caused by chronic under nutrition and entitlement decline. Sadly, EGS is often the largest resource that a Woreda or Region has at its disposal (food aid receipts in Amhara equal ~ 30-40 per cent of the federal government subsidy in sample sites). Only when donors intervene, in a planned way, are matching capital funds made available with the possible exception of Tigray where, despite capacity constraints, resource availability and social capital remain high.

7.5.2 Productive Asset Creation

Results show the need to differentiate between the creation of different kinds of assets based upon the livelihood analysis. Case studies showed that as an asset, a road is only productive if other important economic factors are in place to add surplus value and use value to the asset itself. The same can be said for catchment rehabilitation where failure to extract ground water from the lower catchment of command area limits productivity increases and the formation of capital assets. Table 7.13 below presents the results of 'productivity potential' and 'production constraint' based on the activities implemented under the case studies and ascertained through focal sessions with Woreda officials and local community leaders.

Table 7.13 Asset Creation Potential of EGS Based on 100,000 mt /year

| Activity | Asset Created ¹ | Productivity Potential ² | Production Constraint |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|
| Road construction Kms (2000/pd/km) | 16,666 | Market integration between Woreda, Zonal and Regional Centres. Reduces price spreads and transaction costs | Capital input missing, poor planning, limited supervision, lack of effective demand, |
| Stone Bunds Kms (150/pd/km) | 222,222 | Soil moisture leads to increased cereal production and ground water recharge | Land size, rainfed agriculture, lack of inputs and extension advice, low yields |
| Soil Bunds (70/pd/km) | 476,190 | Soil moisture leads to increased cereal production and ground water recharge | Land size, rainfed agriculture, lack of inputs, extension advice and weak structures |
| Earth Dams (120,000/unit) | 277 | Cereal or horticultural production | Experience on command area development and co-operative promotion |
| Spring development (1700/pd/no) | 19,607 | Saves time collecting water, frees up time for other duties and investment opportunities | Small scale, not labour intensive, health problems |
| Spate Canal (2000/pd/km) | 16,666 | Carriage of spate water for irrigation purposes | Lack of experience, quick maturing varieties |

¹ Cost not including capital inputs or recurrent expenditure of line departments

² Excluding income potential gained through direct employment

The utilisation of water leads to increased production however, most EGS related interventions focus on the conservation and not extraction side of the production equation. The WFP EGS pilot, while providing substantial planning, resources, technical guidance and experience into the LLPP approach, remains contingent on an important external factor – rainfall. However, as already seen, under the Maharashtra programme the installation of percolation dams under EGS has become one of the most important activities leading to increased horticultural development and seasonal labour demand. The integrated micro watershed development approach, advocated by the TNRS, EC USAID, IrishAid and World Visions looks like a panacea¹¹⁰ for productivity growth should ground water extraction be accompanied by command area input development.

7.5.3 Poverty Reduction and Livelihood Decline

Farmers claimed that production can lead to increased land or labour-based entitlements and assist in reducing the overall level of poverty - relative or absolute. Research results suggest that the case studies outlined have had limited impact on the protection of entitlements as both policies and population control remain external variables to the intervention. The creation of significant assets, as attested to in the case studies, at the same time as increased food assistance somehow reduces the overall impact or potential of EGS. Longer term poverty reduction and economic growth in the small holder sector appears limited by design. The case studies presented allow an opportunity to identify the potential impact on food security at household level of ongoing EGS activities (see Table 7.14)

¹¹⁰ See Middlebrook, P., Haile, M (2000) *Integrated Micro watershed Development in Tigray: A Panacea*, presented at the forum for Social Studies Food Security Symposium, Addis Ababa, May, 2000

Table 7.14 Potential Impact of EGS on Household Food Security

| Sector | Highest Organisational Impact on Food Security |
|------------------------------|--|
| Soil and Water Conservation | To maintain and increase supply of agricultural staples. WFP LLPP approach advocated as most effective intervention |
| Afforestation | To maintain and recover degraded areas so as to increase supply. REST and TNRS most effective interventions |
| Water Resource Development | To increase supply and health of vulnerable population. TNRS/EC IMWD ground water extraction in command areas. REST IFSP |
| Road Construction | Increase market integration between surplus and deficit production areas. REST EGS and ANRS/TNRS EGS |
| School Construction | Increase awareness, literacy etc. None under EGS |
| Health Facility Construction | Increase access to health facilities thereby reducing morbidity. Water construction. REST most effective intervention |

The level of analysis undertaken would suggest that each institution achieves different potentialities depends upon its sectoral focus. WFP explicitly targets catchment rehabilitation although, despite obvious links with a more integrated approach involving command areas development, linkage has not been made with Either SAERT or SEARAR, or USAID or the EC funded pilots. Table 7.15 presents a summary table of results indicating, against certain variables, the impact (high, moderate or low) of particular pilot EGS interventions.

Table 7.15 Assessment of Low, Moderate and High Impacts of Case Study EGS Projects

| | Amhara | | Tigray | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Impact | SCF/ISP Makdella | ANRS/WFP Belessa | REST Focal Areas | TNRS/EC Regional |
| Policy Awareness | High | Moderate | High | High |
| HH Income | Moderate | Moderate | Moderate | Moderate |
| HH Productivity | None | Moderate | Moderate | Moderate |
| Capital Resources | Moderate | Moderate | High | Moderate |
| Transport | High | High | High | Low |
| Environment | Low | High | High | High |
| Water | Low | Moderate | Moderate/High | High |
| Health | Low | Low | Moderate | Low |
| On Community | High | High | High | Moderate |

Interventions focused on participatory natural resource rehabilitation and management, within a coherent development framework, were more effective in terms of verifiable productivity. Relief focused interventions with an ad hoc approach to natural resource development showed lower impact on poverty reduction.

7.6 Sustainability, EGS and Rural Livelihoods

A sustainable livelihood, from a food security perspective, is one where the drawing together of capabilities, assets and actions allow adequate nutrition for and active and healthy life. Accordingly, results regarding the sustainability of livelihoods will need to address important questions related to political, natural, social, human, physical and financial capital. The issues of sustainability, in a country where certain areas are experiencing entitlement decline, might initially be replaced by the rather more

sobering note of 'maintainability'. The results of the studies show that livelihoods are not sustainable as evidenced by the constant need for relief assistance in both Amhara and Tigray. However, the implementation results presented above, based on the joint work of many organisations and people, reveal important issues for the sustainability of EGS as a potentially productivity based safety net.

7.6.1 The Creation of Sustainable Livelihood Assets

Political Capital: Results suggest that political support for both policy formulation and familiarisation is a vital component of a sustainable institutional response to the problem of poverty reduction and is adjunct to it. Political sustainability, as shown in Tigray, includes the ability and will to provide finance and delivery mechanisms both on the side of government and donors. The importance of the public administration in realising policy objectives is critical. Moreover, political capital involves command over power, power to determine, decide and plan within a framework encouraging public policy dialogue with the poor. Under the NPDPM the Woreda has been given the powers to implement policies and it is at the Woreda level that state community interaction is at its most meaningful. Access to political capital lies at the heart of democracy and good governance and Woreda officials clearly lacked resources to maintain the level of influence in social protection policies that the policy desires. The experience provided by REST demonstrates the importance of civilian control over state decisions and the Baito system and general assembly have politicised the community into action aimed at self-provisioning. State / civilian interaction through the public administration is vital for effective EGS.

Natural Capital: Natural capital in many parts of the north-east highland remains both limited and under threat. Natural capital is the platform for productivity transformation and results show that participatory resources development and management are the most efficient and effective routes to natural resource sustainability. Results from both Maharashtra and Tigray (Atsbi Wemberta) that participatory integrated micro watershed development provides a coherent approach to natural resources development and agricultural growth. Water and irrigation capital assets are currently under-utilised from both a resource and food security perspective. The LLPP approach should be integrated into the IMWD programme. Sufficient extraction of ground water does not take place and irrigation potentials need to be enhanced for the sustainability of natural resource based EGS action.

Social Capital: Ownership and identity of the EGS programme is an essential pre-condition for effective implementation. Moreover, community based and focused interventions need to be strengthened through the increased development of self-help networks, institutional relationships, associations and political representations. Once again, the Baito system provides a clear institutional focus within which not just mass but individual action can be enhanced. The ability of the Tigraian government to mobilise communities for one free month of public action is based on the cohesion of social capital and on grassroots ownership of social hierarchies. The newly established food security units in Amhara and Tigray, with representatives throughout

the administration at regional, Zonal, Woreda and sub Woreda levels enhance options for increased state private partnerships. Food aid interventions suppress expressions of social capital that create dependency on external solutions.

Human Capital: All the targeted interventions focused on skills and information transfer from the public administration down to the grassroots and information from the grassroots feeds up to the administrations. Training has been provided by all projects although particularly by REST and WFP. Awareness in policy familiarisation has been prioritised by the ISP and policy alternatives focused on by the EC. What remains striking is that as capabilities increase, as a result of experience and resources, the absorbance capacity for public action increases, Tigray is a good example of human capital development after years of training and hands on experience, the quality of physical structures is impressive. The new food security units in Amhara, now constituted at Gote level also provide opportunities for grassroots management and decision-making. Real decentralisation is beginning to take place – albeit slowly.

Physical Capital: Insufficient infrastructure and the means of production undermine the efficiency of operations and transaction costs for all factor markets. Economic infrastructure including roads, forests, water supplies and physical conservation structures have all been built under EGS albeit to differing standards and impacts. For issues of physical sustainability, results suggest that a heavy focus on road infrastructure (as done by Farm Africa and SOS Sahel in SNNP EGS interventions) will increase the overall efficiency both in terms of time and transaction cost savings. The importance of capital inputs to the sustainability of these physical assets is critical. The maintenance of physical conservation structures and roads needs to be undertaken by the local communities and yet, enforcing such maintenance without payments has not been effective. Many reports of conservation structures being deliberately knocked down (by owners) so that food aid will be provided to rebuild areas on or around the smallholding.

Financial Capital: EGS projects transfer resources to vulnerable groups and thereby provide market based entitlement options for these households. However, lack of accumulated productive assets, as evidenced by the increasing volume of food aid assistance, is partly caused by lack of access to formal financial markets providing loans at free market rates. Financial capital remains at the subsistence level and overall returns on investment remain low. EGS can and does protect financial assets from further depletion particularly where the sale of natural assets such as livestock, is protected through the provision of food aid wages paid through EGS. Accumulated grain payments in particular can be stored and used as a saving for further investments.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented, through case studies and the presentation of results, important implementation issues attested to by the various sample groups. The

research, dominated by official views from within the administrations, has been effective in highlighting the major issues to be addressed from a policy and guideline perspective. Of importance, is the need to compare the results of policy and institutional analysis and the results of the fields based implementation. The results obtained show that:

1. Programme efficiency, effectiveness and relevance need to be measured in relation to meeting the distinct relief and development objectives.
2. Results indicate that for relief operations;
 - a) Efficiency is poor, largely as a result of the cost of food aid delivery, internal storage and housing and the high levels of monetisation of the food payment itself.
 - b) The overall effectiveness of EGS in meeting relief objectives is also called into question as lack of relief resources, resource delays and targeting errors remain substantial. However, deaths due to food shortage have not been recorded in recent years and as a result, the overall effectiveness must be considered an important impact.
 - c) EGS was considered relevant by both administration officials and EGS workers alike as a relief response although, concerns were expressed that the timing of works, the late arrival of wage payments and reduction in wage payments undermined relief objectives.
3. Results indicate that for development operations;
 - a) Efficiency was difficult to assess although lack of available resources, lack of Woreda capacities and equipment as well as matching capital assets substantially reduced the overall efficiency of EGS as a development tool;
 - b) EGS was effective in building capital assets, as shown through REST's programmes, however the attainment of long term social protection objectives must be considered marginal as evidenced by the lack of infrastructure in areas having received food aid for the past 20 years
 - c) EGS remains relevant given the number of days of employment generated in favour of constructing public works.
4. The impact of EGS on short term relief need varied substantially although low wage payments clearly undermined the attainment of nutritional objectives as did the late arrival of food. However, cash wage transfers were paid in accordance with the policy and welcomed by most EGS workers as long as the payment rate was equivalent to procure food on local markets..
5. The impact on longer term livelihood asset creation showed that many interventions generated substantial common property assets although most appeared inert, and not directly productive, from a livelihood point of view. The integrated micro-watershed development approach shows promise although current levels of implementation did not allow detailed assessment of the livelihood impact. Wealth ranking failed to show the build up of assets clearly under EGS as data baseline data was not available and the high seasonality of income effects. The productivity of these assets varies greatly

although the general lack of ground water utilisation for irrigation potentials undermines the longer food security objectives of EGS.

6. Sustainability and rural livelihoods. Most EGS works visited were not sustainable, poorly integrated into area plans and the structures constructed and flow of assets created, were short term and related more to wages generated rather than the development of productive and gainful employment in the longer term.

In conclusion, despite huge efforts and large gains in recent years, the overall efficiency and effectiveness of EGS remain low. The capacities for implementation are good, although only when sufficient resources have been allocated and this seldom occurs under the Government's own budget. The need to consider cash based transfers to improve efficiency, self targeting to minimise targeting errors, and integrated watershed development approaches to area planning would appear to be key to realising a more sustainable social protection policy – actually offering guaranteed protection to all individuals falling below the poverty line. Tigray, and REST in particular, set the standard for EGs in Ethiopia and much should be learnt by other regions as to the relationship between the state and local communities and with regard to the introduction of people centred planning approaches.

8.0 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The preceding two chapters have presented the results of policy, institutional and implementation issues surrounding social protection policies and practise. This chapter brings together the different results by exploring the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the current EGS programme from the different research perspectives. This research has not attempted to answer particular questions in finite detail but rather to look at the overall accomplishment of the policy in the light of the different stakeholders experiences. This is important, as current thinking on social protection and poverty reduction policies focus on the voices of the poor and constraints faced in programme delivery, from policy to grassroots. The concepts laid out in Chapter 4 have highlighted the need for social protection policies in Ethiopia to address vulnerability and risk for deprived members of society through public and social responses. The research has recognised the following main principles of social protection as evidenced by the comparative, policy, institutional and implementation results.

- a) responsive to the specific realities and needs of marginal communities and build upon their capabilities;
- b) the integration and mainstreaming of social protection measures into the various levels of public and private administrations;
- c) the adoption of measures should be efficient and effective in meeting social protection goals; and,
- d) programmes should be demand driven, self targeted and based on cash based payments as priority instruments;
- e) the political and financial sustainability of measures should be underpinned by a medium term funding strategy.

In 1994, social protection was barely established as a working concept and the researcher contributed to institutionalising the concept based on the EGS policy. Key informants have supported the idea that, based on these broad principles, social protection policies continue to be warranted to promote social equity, increase economic efficiency and to support the undesirable impacts of ongoing reform programmes.

8.1 Social Protection and Hunger Eradication

This research has demonstrated the need to develop an appropriate policy framework responsive to the needs expressed by poor communities in Ethiopia. The programme is retarded, less by the policy, but more by the lack of resources and implementation capacities at the lowest level of implementation. The policy is only as good as the weakest programme link, which can be observed as planning and implementation constraints at the Woreda level. As the programme was not enacted, and latitude to deviate from policy guidelines reportedly remains high, the social protection programme has not been sufficiently institutionalised to be considered as a coherent social protection policy. Results too have highlighted the extent to which neither relief

or development objectives are being fully attained and as a result, the productivity potentials for the programme are not being attained either. The case studies demonstrated that different agencies have developed a basket of measures and programmes, each with a particular interpretation of the policy guideline and the institutional approaches. Each adopted approach exhibited different strengths and weaknesses.

Results have shown that as senior officials still remain largely uninformed about the policy itself, there has been an increasing dilution and break up of policy directives, accompanied by policy polarisation and lack of ownership evident at lower administrative levels. Maharashtra has demonstrated that this can be partially overcome through well-designed legislation providing a logical structure to management and implementation devolution as well as public administration reform to guarantee that objectives are systematically achieved through defined procedures. A culture of legislative authority and regulation for rural development activities and an authority to regulate against non-compliance will also be an essential ingredient, these have been lacking. The national policy clearly remains seriously retarded as the numbers of chronically vulnerable appear to be increasing, reinforcing the notion that the utilisation of relief resources for development have yielded little capital gain for marginal communities.

Greater levels of public action are needed to guide the programme through the newly created regional structures and to align the programme around verifiable needs. In spite of the invaluable and cutting edge public works experience of relief and development organisations such as REST, the full productivity capability remains retarded for the reasons outlined above. Against the background created by these results, and realising that development remains an iterative process, a discussion of important elements arising from the results of the research is presented below. The discussion points are presented in concurrence with the methodological structure followed throughout this research.

8.1.1 Policy Results

The Maharashtra case study highlights the need for a coherent and needs responsive policy statement accompanied by a clearly designated social protection objectives accompanied by sets of minimum standards. Such a policy would be implemented by the public administrations and monitored for coherence within a clearly defined legislative framework. Results have shown that the NPDPM is widely considered to be a progressive policy although, as many officials remain unaware of the policy, its directives and guidelines, the overall accomplishment must be below that expected. As results show that even senior officials doubt the overall achievement of the policy in meeting relief and development objectives questions related to policy reform are urgently needed. The main reason would appear to be the lack on integration of the NPDPM into both regular line department activities, the modest progress in public administration reform at the lower levels of administration and the resourcing uncertainty that continued to plague the programme. On the other side, donors have

failed to pay more than lip service to supporting a demand driven social protection policy as originally planned by the GoE. Food aid and relief food are being provided and half heartedly channelled through EGS in broad support of the policy. The failure of the regions to respond to the call made in the federal GoE 1996 Food Security Strategy for self targeted cash employment based safety nets has reduced the overall effectiveness of the policy. Likewise, and perhaps of greater significance, the failure of donors to provide and channel assistance responsive to the expressed needs of the rural poor is also striking. Clearly, if appropriate support has not been provided either by the Government or international community, the policy principles generated by this research too can not be attained.

The researcher presented the provisional results on policies in three papers presented to international workshops and they also formed the basis for the Oxford Policy Management (OPM) study on policy and institutional constraints to improved food security in Ethiopia (lead by the researcher). Participants in workshops unanimously supported the research findings and agreed that institutions needed to support the policy in a more proactive way, through the budget of the Government.

Donor representatives interviewed as part of the donors food security and agricultural committee (of which the researcher was a member) agreed that donors too had failed to be responsive to the specific needs of marginal communities by the continued insistence on food aid as a sole resource for EGS in Ethiopia. Without sufficient and appropriate resources, the remaining policy principles (integration of social protection, adoption of efficient and effective measures, demand driven, self targeted and cash based, politically and financially sustainable) can no longer be met. This is an vital research conclusion and one to which donors need to be aware.

So far limited government support has been provided to guide the implementation of the NPDPM and there is an urgent requirement to decentralise pro-poor political and policy environments. What makes the national policy at all functional is the consistently high volume of food aid donated annually through the humanitarian lines of international donor organisations. Without such 'emergency relief' resourcing, and in the absence of strong government financial support, the policy would be dead on its feet. The implementation of the NPDPM has been retarded by relatively limited government support, in terms of institutional change, capacity building and finance. It is perceived by many donors that 'humanitarian assistance' is largely the domain of a quasi Ministry (DPPC) and the international community, not the more mainstream development line departments, thereby undermining the general status of the programme. Economic growth, not disaster relief, has understandably been the principle explicit concern of the government and while this should be supported, greater awareness is required of the implications of neglecting targeted poor policies on retarding pro-poor economic development. The EGS programme should be given full consideration by both the federal and regional governments as one means to provide significant gainful employment and simultaneously generate productive assets. The line departments implicated in the policy should detail implementation strategies in coordination with relevant government stakeholders.

While international consensus on the impact of decentralisation on poverty reduction is not clear, there are a number of good examples in Indian, other Asian and African states showing that political ownership and public accountability are vital elements. However, there is no reason to assume that the process of administrative and fiscal decentralisation will necessarily lead to pro poor development. Different regions may develop different policy mixes for poverty reduction with varying effectiveness. Stronger government support and awareness of the possible limitations of decentralisation on the strength of policies such as the NPDPM is critical. Both federal and regional governments are struggling to find a balance, within budget limitations, where growth can be achieved at the same time as not excluding marginal groups. This battle has yet to be won in Ethiopia and the lower levels of administration continue to possess lower levels of capacity than the higher-level administrative counterparts.

The research results suggest that inadequate assessment and consensus building in the specific Ethiopian poverty context has been carried out. The research demonstrates the urgent need for joint assessments to contextualise the specific nature of rural poverty in Ethiopia and to identify which constraints would need which appropriate action. A Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) would assist in increasing policy responsiveness to needs expressed by poor people. This should be done by harnessing the rather fragmented efforts of current analysis such as the work of MEDaC's Welfare Monitoring Unit, FDPPC's 'Strengthening Emergency Response (SERA), the World Bank's recent interventions in assessing, through panel data, the changing face of poverty etc.

In general reforming public administration, from a centralised to decentralised model, has shown both strengths and weaknesses. For example, the level of ownership of the regional food security programmes and establishment of new institutional structures can be cited as a positive outcome as can the local governance model created by TPLF and supported by REST. In spite of these positive elements, the implementation of national policy has not been institutionalised at the regional level except within the DPPC structures. The NPDPM has not been accompanied by reform and policy familiarisation with the lower administration and ownership remains poor. Most regional officials appeared not to have read federal policies and federal officials are not acquainted with the regional policies where they exist. As a result, the EGS programme is at present a low-level (albeit extortionate cost) relief transfer programme where effectiveness, efficiency and policy objectives are not objectively measured. By contrast, the Maharashtra programme represents a more formal 'Employment Based Safety Net' installed as part of a broader commitment to poverty reduction. The current GoE involvement in generating the PRSP together through consultation with funding partners represents a significant opportunity for review. EGS could be redefined as a safety net, which, if adequately resourced, could stem the encroaching livelihood destitution of chronically affected households seeking employment in periods of scarcity.

The legal basis for the NPDPM remains unclear and accordingly, the directives for the implementation of the policy are not widely known or acknowledged often by senior Ethiopian government officials. In fact, results suggest that they do not function as directives – they are not clearly directing institutional actions. This is not so much attributable to poor performance from FDPPC where in fact a relatively healthy policy environment has evolved at the influence of national and international experience. Rather, the problem relates to the lack of appropriate public administration channels within which to issue directives. Directives should be issued through the administrative hierarchy at federal, regional, Zonal and Woreda levels, but tend to remain as well thought out ideas on the ‘dusty shelves’ of the implementing lower executives.

Key informants support the idea that an important accompanying policy measure for poverty eradication would be the development of a context specific poverty line within which to target social subsidies and monitor the changing nature of chronic vulnerability. International experience suggests the value of US\$ 1 per day as an appropriate income value. The research highlights the fact that achievement of national policy objectives can not be verified until objectively verifiable indicators of change have been defined. The definition of a ‘*poverty line*’ would allow those falling below that line, be it set in nutritional, income or expenditure terms, to receive recurrent subsidies for basic items such as food. A public food distribution system, for redistributing marketable grain surplus may be one option, involving the development of fair price shops, accessible to those who own ‘poverty line cards’.

The research suggests that the existing policy (or slightly amended to include the new institutional structures for the regional food security units) directives and the EGS Guidelines need to be legally underpinned by an appropriate legislation. The GoM enacted a policy that was implemented under state law and it has largely been considered successful in meeting its objectives. Implementing institutions were mandated at all levels of the administration and equipped with physical inputs and suitably qualified and relatively motivated staff to fulfil respective programme roles. The EGS legislation in Maharashtra demonstrates the importance of enacting a policy and putting in place appropriate implementation mechanisms. The Ethiopian EGS remains a largely ‘voluntary’ (not ‘mandatory’) programme with regards to departmental / donor and NGO obligations to implement in accordance with stipulated policy objectives and directives. The Ethiopian EGS programme could benefit from stronger legislative support, as could other areas of rural development. For example, the government’s recent controversial lead on regulating micro finance institutions has at least been a positive example of supporting rural based institutions through a decisive and regulated policy. Given that the value of humanitarian assistance can reach \$800 million the significance of legislation to capture the productive potential inherent in such resources cannot be over emphasised.

Given that the EGS programme is substantially implemented through food aid, with cash transfers so far providing only marginal wage transfer values, the development of a ‘food aid charter’ would greatly assist in increasing the regulatory environment and

support the national policy to minimise resource planning and targeting problems. Such a charter would create a framework of minimum conditions within which the delivery, management and utilisation of food aid resource could be monitored. For example, if legislation detailed contractual conditions (on government and donors) for the timely pre-positioning of food aid inputs at the level of regions, ready to utilise labour demand in the slack agricultural period, EGS related resource guarantees could be facilitated. The charter would lead to greater accountability at both governmental and international community levels and in so doing increase the transparency of employment based transfer initiatives within the policy. The charter would need to be regionalised and sensitive to agro-ecological Zone variations given the need to offer different transfer options for agro and agro-pastoralist communities.

The process of regional decentralisation would appear to have led to many positive changes since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1993. Arguably the most positive aspect however has been the increased policy ownership and degree of 'self-government' within the broader constitutional framework of subsidiarity. An important policy issue here is the inter linkage between federal and regional policies where a clear delineation of responsibilities needs to be strengthened. For example, the November 1996 Federal Food Security Strategy did not form a model for the new regional strategies of 1998/99 as the regions had not been made aware of the federal strategy exercise or involved in the consultative process resulting in improved awareness of the advantages of the development of a strategic food security framework. Given the high levels of donor support in the domain of relief, the NPDPM has been 'regionalised' more than many other policies but with an emphasis on voluntary 'familiarisation' following from a central design. In future policies need to be 'flagged' within appropriate implementation organisations and government, not only donor funds, need to be earmarked at the earliest stage of policy promulgation so as to guarantee the installation and start up phases of policy implementation. Federal and regional decentralisation dynamics need to be more clearly understood as a matter of policy transmission awareness.

Both the Amhara and Tigray administrations have afforded poverty reduction and food security the highest regional priority. The recent development of the regional food security programmes, although not obviously grounded in the federal strategy and suffering from a largely agricultural growth perspective, marks a major step forward. The regions have since established regional food security coordination mechanisms and executive offices to oversee the implementation of the programme and these have been staffed by relatively well-qualified personnel. Despite the fact that grant based donor finance (EC, USAID, WFP, Irish Aid, SIDA etc.) dominates the financing strategy of food security offices to date, both governments have committed their own resources to forward the implementation of the programme. On the other hand, the federal food security coordination office housed in MEDaC remains symbolic of the uncertainty regarding federal roles and responsibilities. The federal food security strategy remains somewhat detached from policy and programming dynamics, as does the status of the NPDPM. Recent moves to re-evaluate the performance of the policy by FDDC are welcome although it will take more than documentary changes to

secure policy impact. Reform of public administrations will also need to be considered as central elements to implement the policy directives.

The strength of a policy is very much affected by the relationship between other inter sectoral policies. For example, education and health policies must be complimentary as the main elements of the social investment programmes. Likewise, the cross cutting relationship between the NPDPM, federal and regional food security strategies and programmes and the other rural development policies needs to be reviewed. In addition, the role of 'employment based safety nets', focused on reduction in food insecurity and poverty reduction need to be taken up as programme elements in the supra-policy environment. Policy measures need to be coordinated more closely. The role of employment based safety nets for mitigating some of the potentially negative effects of structural adjustment in transitional economies (of which Ethiopia is an example) is a case in point. The World Bank appears so far to have resisted the planning of a formal social protection policy as a poverty reduction measure appropriate for Ethiopia on the basis that the best safety net for poor households is strong and sustainable economic development. Social protection needs to be seen a central and not peripheral policy measures.

A formal social protection programme could be funded from different government and cooperation partner budget lines such as a regular government budget (either within the regional budget or NDPPF), food aid and counterpart funds. To cover the needs of the chronically vulnerable a formal social protection programme would merit being programmed in order that excess labour potential is fully utilised to enhance the drive for economic development in rural areas. The EGS should provide gainful employment focused on productive works leading to asset creation, as indicated under the present policy. The present the rather informal EGS should be used as the basis for an enacted social protection programme resourced through an agreed medium term expenditure framework.

Research shows that the basic rights of workers need to be guaranteed through a supportive legislative framework and Ethiopian labour laws need to be upheld by all institutions involved in rural development to avoid unfair employment practices. The minimum wage and work norm policy needs to be strengthened and decentralised out of federal offices on into rural development project sites. International instruments and standards, such as those enacted by the ILO, could form the basis for such a strengthened workers rights strategy that would also allow the constitution to be grounded in less theoretical terms. The development of co-operatives remains weak and a framework needs to be urgently put in place as a vehicle for grassroots democratic structures to lobby government to improve workers conditions.

8.1.2 Guidelines for Planning and Implementation of EGS

The EGS Guideline is relatively well thought out and is in general considered by regional and federal staff to be an appropriate planning guideline within which to strengthen the planning and implementation of EGS works. Nevertheless, the

guideline is clearly a means and not an end in itself and the delivery of the guideline, training, capacity building and reform of the regional public administration should be seen as essential elements for successful guideline adoption. The federal guideline explicitly requests regions to 'adopt and adapt' the framework to the regional context although this has not so far been done by any of the regions including Amhara and Tigray. The delay in the finalisation of the guideline has been critical as it was only disseminated to regional administrations in 1998, after publication in September 1997, and translation to regional languages has only recently been achieved, with funding from Canadian CIDA's ISP. While guideline translation may be seen as core activity to institutionalise the proposed EGS approach at lower administrative levels, the delay in delivery, now some 7 years after the NPDPM was promulgated has created a policy and guideline 'vacuum'. The learning from experience at Regional level has to some extent resulted in the overtaking of federal awareness and sensitivity to practical constraints and alternative mechanisms. Independent regional administrations are increasingly reserved about accepting (from above) federal guidelines as blue print approaches and in addition, the evolution of the regional food security structures in Amhara and Tigray, have necessitated a new structural arrangement for EGS related programmes. In both Amhara and Tigray, although particularly in Tigray, the planning of labour intensive public works is well practised and much progress is being made towards guaranteeing gainful employment and building productivity focused projects. The substantive quality of the guideline remains sadly irrelevant if most regional officials have not so far read it since its dissemination in 1997/98. The EGS Guideline is in fear of becoming a shelf project of its own as copies line the shelves of more senior officials – yet the pace of adoption remains slow. What follows is a summary of specific conclusions.

The delay in the publication of the EGS guideline against the process of NPDPM development and regional decentralisation was unfortunate to say the least. The Guideline should have been developed and disseminated (using legislation as the message vehicle) as one of the central policy instruments of the Government to guide the implementation. Accompanying measures should have been made available by the Government including the establishment of the NDPPF and the streamlining of budget provisions from the as part of the federal government subsidy to the regions to assist in implementation. These opportunities were missed and will not re-emerge in the same way in future. As stated, the NPDPM should have been launched in 1993 as a full package including supporting policy, directives and guideline measures as well as a clear legislative framework for its enforced implementation. Despite these policy promulgation omissions, the guidelines are broadly considered by both government and international cooperation partners as constituting a solid basis for transition to a more formal safety net programme can eventually be manifested. However, two important dynamics are to be concluded here. Firstly, in 1993 when the NPDPM was first promulgated, the process of regionalisation was in its formative stages and the policy directives were issued and implemented by only one departmental structure – the DPPC structure at different administrative levels. The responsibilities that were given to the national and regional line departments (DPPC structure, MoA, BoA, MSFCTD, RRA, MoH, BoH, MoPED, BoPED, MoF, MoI, MoTC, CSA, ESC, BoE)

remain only partially understood and to varying degrees have been only partially implemented. The process of regionalisation has accelerated from 1995 onwards and by then the policy, which is not enforceable, had missed the possibilities for integration into line department activities. Secondly, the delay in publication and dissemination of the guideline, despite a major effort by DPPC in 1997, appears to have reinforced the notion that the implementation of the policy was somehow optional and therefore not important. Indeed, the DPPC has fought hard, within the limitations of its present mandate, to mainstream EGS into line department activities although the guidelines, and the national policy, are perceived as a DPPC policy and mandate and not the responsibilities of all institutions actually implicated to act.

The federal government has failed to provide sufficient financial support to DPPC to overview the implementation of the policy and it is by and large donor supported programmes that have achieved varying degrees of implementation success. Average Donor support, in terms of food aid and non-food aid measures is valued at between US\$ 200-300 million per annum while the budget allocated to DPPC by Federal Government in 1998 was only US\$ 2 million. Accordingly, the development of the guideline, NFDPM¹¹¹, RFO's¹¹² etc. have been contingent on donor and not governmental support. This has led to delays in implementing key elements of the policy and these should, as a matter of principle, be funded under the GoE budget so as to avoid such implementation delays. Ownership of procedural and guideline development has suffered from outsourcing to international consultants. Policies should be seen as institutionalised objective statements of Government intent. The DPPC has not systematically monitored the implementation of the policy on an annual basis and no internal ex-post evaluations have been conducted. Indeed, the ownership of the policy lies not only with DPPC but also with other line departments.

Arguably one of the biggest challenges facing the longer-term development of the EGS is its evolution away from a voluntaristic programme externally funded as an emergency oriented programme, to a formally legislated government safety net programme addressing chronic vulnerability through the provision of livelihood support to those who fall below the poverty line. The research concludes that such a shift is a *sine qua non* for the achievement of an effective programme providing gainful employment through productive asset creation. The guidelines should

¹¹¹ The NFDPM, which was planned in the Directives as being central to providing non relief food based cash transfer operations support also remains dysfunctional. DPPC commissioned a study on the fund and its results have so far not led to action. While this is probably as a result of the constraint on government funding as a result of the conflict with Eritrea, its delay further undermines the status of implementation of the policy, and in particular the EGS implementation. The fund could have provided the 30 per cent capital inputs needed by line departments for EGS implementation or used as a way to channel cash based transfer programmes to vulnerable areas in exchange for labour/employment.

¹¹² A good example of not guaranteeing resources as a central government level can be seen in the delay in constructing RFO's, which were envisaged by DPPC to form part of the Public Food Distribution System, has been the EC funded EGS Promotional Programme. The fund, which was intended to be channeled to DPPC, largely to support the expansion of RFO's, was channeled to MEDaC and the regions of Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray to support a different approach to EGS. The budget shortfall has meant that the policy, its directives and guideline, where RFO's are visioned as being central to it, remains incomplete.

therefore seek encourage such a dynamic evolution and not create a blue print approach to institutionalise the inherent flaws of the current situation. A trade off between federal level initiatives, programme framework, legal basis, finance and guidelines and regional ownership and endorsement needs to be found through regular federal/regional information exchange mechanisms which at present do not exist.

An effective employment based programme can only be constituted when effective rural development projects, focused on productive works such as micro watershed development, roads, irrigation, water supplies etc. are prepared in detail in advance of labour demand. The Guidelines propose that EGS projects be integrated into the normal activities of line departments – i.e. that EGS projects are not special interventions but rather integrated into ongoing rural development plans. However, despite the importance of planning exercises, ‘shelf projects’ are not as a rule prepared by Woreda and Zonal line departments in advance therefore severely retarding the success of the programme. Research has shown that the general excuse given for bad planning is resource uncertainty. Woreda officials argue together with NGOs that unless food aid is guaranteed, planning will not be undertaken due to the perceived risk of raising communities’ expectations unnecessarily. Accordingly, when food aid arrives (the present wage transfer arrangement for EGS) projects are not in place and either food aid is provided gratuitously, or channelled to project activities that have little developmental value. The scope of works tends to be piecemeal and inherently unproductive. There are few incentives to local government staff to take a more proactive role here. The research has shown that, in fact, EGS project preparation, and the preparation of the annual contingency plans, are considered by line departments as superficial exercises within which to guarantee the provision of relief food. The projects mentioned therein are notional and capital inputs are rarely indicated. To some extent, the poor operational status of EGS is related to the poor operational status of rural development initiatives more generally as a result of chronic capacity problems at the district level. Only through a legally binding environment, supported by appropriate resource injections will line departments increase their vision to planning for developmental change.

The preparation of EGS shelf projects by many international NGOs has not been undertaken as requested in the guideline not least because EGS in Ethiopia is unfortunately dominated mainly by relief oriented NGOs. This research supports the experience that developmentally oriented NGOs, local and international are frequently more likely to sympathise with the safety net characteristics of EGS than their relief and shorter term planning horizon NGO counterparts. The developing of specific EGS productivity focused packages for ‘Drought Proofing’¹¹³ should be further explored. The generally unprofessional approach of, for example international relief focused staff involved in rural development is perceived as major bottleneck.

Officially the EWS should provide information on relief / employment needs to the WDRC and in collaboration with Kebeles an Employment Needs Assessment (ENA)

¹¹³

A set of employment generation schemes are referred to as an EGS package.

should be conducted. The ENA should provide information to line departments to enable them to plan labour intensive works sufficient to take up the level of employment demand. In most parts of Ethiopia this is never done explicitly and the situation is not seen through an employment but rather a disaster-oriented optic¹¹⁴. The research demonstrates that if broader food security objectives are to be achieved through enhanced productivity levels of rural household units, then, projects need to lead to sustainable livelihood shifts. Accordingly, the sectoral focus needs to be geared to increasing agricultural production where possible. What remains concerning is that despite the nature of vulnerability in rural Ethiopia (slow onset, multi-annual and therefore eminently programmable) preparation of rural development plans remains weak. The research concludes that the failure of Woreda line departments to implement the policy needs to receive greater attention by the executive level of the GoE. Low public administration capacity and poor qualifications of staff involved in planning is an obstacle to an effective EGS and to effectively programmed productive works. The following conclusions are drawn from this research:

Conducting ENA's, drawing up of EGS packages need to be considered mandatory and fully integrated into line department activities as laid out in the NPDPM and its directives. A legislative method of enforcement needs to be considered although where lack of capacity exists to fulfil basis needs, capacity building should be prioritised.

Research suggests that EGS packages should be sectorally focused on production outcome projects. Given that Ethiopia is a drought prone agrarian society where 85 per cent of labour is based, Integrated Micro Watershed Development (IMWD) needs to be mainstreamed as an important rural development tool. This approach is most advanced in areas of Tigray such as Adi Hackey and should be further strengthened and then institutionalised. Accordingly, the research results lead to the conclusion that EGS resources (including all food and cash transfers and capital inputs) might be programmed according to the following multi-sectoral allocation guideline¹¹⁵ to maximise productivity impacts on households:

- a) 40 per cent on IMWD programmes where water extraction in command areas is maximised through percolation structures. Soil and water conservation should be seen as a means and not an end and partitioned as one of the important early phases of watershed development only. Water extraction can be used to increase production;
- b) 20 per cent of EGS resources on high quality inter-Woreda and inter-regional roads;

¹¹⁴ In Maharashtra 'famine' is referred to as 'scarcity' and the problems are perceived as stemming from lack of 'seasonal employment' and not an external disaster. The terminology reflects the approach to the problem of chronic vulnerability. In Ethiopia, the EGS Guideline also requests that for the sake of planning productive works and ENA be conducted so that works are provided on an employment basis. Accordingly, the relief appeals and contingency plans should be constituted in terms of wage transfers to meet employment needs but rather relief food is seen as the end and not means.

¹¹⁵ In areas where these sectoral activities are less important, such as pastoral areas, the specific resource windows for each sector should be re-evaluated according to local conditions.

- c) 20 per cent on community water supplies development on private and common land so as to boost water availability for horticultural development and consumption; and.
- d) 20 per cent on smaller supportive EGS works such as afforestation, nurseries, fruit trees etc.

The transitioning to self-selection targeting methods to address the excluded targeting error problem is urgently needed as a principle of democratic transition and human rights. Under the EGS Guideline 'administrative targeting' (beneficiaries selected for relief/EGS by a committee) is foreseen to be applied in most cases. The research shows that among senior Ethiopian officials (DPPC, BoA, BoPED, ERA etc.) 'self-targeting' (whereby any individual presenting themselves for work under EGS will be given a work placement) is preferred as a matter of principle although it is clear that there are resourcing issues related to this decision. It is interesting to note that under the guideline, four pages were given to administrative targeting whereas only three and a half line were dedicated to self targeting!¹¹⁶ The main targeting issue related to problems of 'exclusion' (vulnerable groups somehow excluded from EGS) and errors of 'inclusion' (non vulnerable included in EGS). Reports from the Grain Market Research Development (GMRP) appear to show that in some areas of Ethiopia food aid targeting has shown errors of exclusion and inclusion (two sides of the same measurement) as high as 40 to 50 per cent. Not surprisingly, these figures were contested by members of the Government and other civilian structures. The results of this research would reinforce the assumption that self targeting should be considered as a principle of democracy where the poor have the right to claim on a safety net system designed to support chronic unemployment. The potential risks of targeting resources according to local political agendas remains high under the present system. A new National Targeting Guideline¹¹⁷ is being prepared that should present a set of targeting principles for regional administrations to consider among which self targeting should be central to the list of options. The research would support that the mode of targeting should relate to specific nature of the objectives. If the objective is to target the most vulnerable, then a targeting system that guarantees work to those most in need, should be developed. Both international and Ethiopian experience would appear to demonstrate that self-targeting would strengthen a demand driven approach to poverty targeted programmes and minimise errors of exclusion, thereby increasing transfer efficiency.

The Guideline presents detailed directions on pre-operational, operational and closure phases for EGS projects. In general, results show that of the largest proportion of relief food provided to regions through the DPPC administration, only between 20-30 per cent is used on EGS related labour intensive works. However, research supports

¹¹⁶ It is always contested by those opposing self-targeting that resource limitations are the main constraint on self targeting. It is claimed that if the EGS were to be open to all then millions would seek employment at any given time. However, this cannot be ascertained because at present the wage transfer for EGS is above the normal agricultural wage and so relief programmes are often seen, despite the supposed social stigma attached to them, as a real employment opportunity.

¹¹⁷ The researcher was a Federal Steering Committee member, representing the EU for the development of these guidelines.

that this is less so in Tigray, where planning procedures and practices are far stronger and food aid is used as a means for project realisation. Prior to the operational phases, as indicated in the theoretical EGS project phases detailed in chapter four, important pre-operational activities need to be carried out by line departments. This phase includes preparation of works schedules, labour and input schedules, skilled manpower provision, wages, input deliveries, disbursement and payment procedures, responsibilities after closure, labour registration, work norm establishment, hand tool provision etc. The research shows that for EGS projects currently under implementation several of these activities were conducted (with varying degrees of success), although not utilising the standard formats proposed by FDPPC in the guideline. However post operational arrangements for project maintenance remain almost non existent and reports of beneficiaries destroying terraces so as to receive more food aid to reconstruct the very same structures are widespread. In conclusion, it is crucial that requirements and procedures for pre-implementation, implementation and post implementation stages are seen as connected activities and planned within a coherent planning framework as proposed under the guidelines.

Monitoring, the regular review of project progress, and evaluation, the systematic analysis of the effects/impact of the intervention are rarely conducted by line departments for EGS or for that matter, other rural development activities. Monitoring of processes and inputs does occur to some extent but impact monitoring is virtually never conducted according to interviews with line department and community representatives. This is not surprising given that during project preparation, monitoring indicators are not routinely selected (either direct or proxy) and no means of verification are indicated. The EGS guideline provides a detailed and useful summary of monitoring and evaluation requirements for the programme as well as indicating the overall responsibilities. However, the failure to institutionalise EGS Guidelines through mandated government institutions appears to have reinforced the perception that EGS is largely about relief objectives and less concerned with achieving enduring productivity assets for communities so as to assist in improving livelihoods. As part of a reorientation effort to challenge such perceptions, a systematic approach to monitoring and evaluation needs to be engendered within appropriate development administrations and awareness of the importance of selecting indicators, means and sources of verification, possible through a logical framework approach is critical. It is proposed that Output to Purpose Reviews (OPR's) be developed as a standard tool in this regard and that independent monitoring and evaluation bodies be established in line departments to mainstream the process. It is recommended that projects be monitored and evaluated from a livelihoods perspective where proxy indicators of household income/consumption/wealth are used in a participatory fashion so as to maximise the understanding of which interventions lead to productivity growth and the formation of fixed capital inputs in the household setting.

Resource planning remains a significant challenge for successful EGS implementation. Successful EGS projects can only be planned if sufficient resources as well as capacity exist within the responsible line departments. Resources for wage

transfers (skilled and unskilled) tend to be driven by availability of food aid and inputs for hand tools, machinery, equipment and materials, on site work amenities, transport and training are currently lacking. Accordingly, a number of solutions would appear to present themselves as follows:

- a) The DPPC currently claims that all those under the appeal are affected by slow onset disasters (primarily drought or pests) when the poor themselves claim that poor households are affected by livelihood decline, a dwindling resource base and poor market based employment opportunities. Areas and households routinely assessed as requiring assistance need to be the focus for safety net development and multi-annual resource planning to include both wage transfers and non-wage input costs.
- b) In principle, to overcome problems thrown up by the research, the GoE could make an advanced allocation each year to the programme to cover non-wage transfer costs (i.e. capital inputs) approximately equal to 20-30 per cent of programme costs through the NFDPM. This fund was initially established in 1999 and 2000 with a Birr 5 million government contribution although the fund is not yet operational. The capital funds could be more effectively channelled, as part of the federal government budget to the regions to support the implementation of EGS by line departments.
- c) Given that food aid is as much a subsidy to the transport sector (50-60 per cent of food aid costs lie in the transport, storage, handling and housing) as is it to the poor, a shift towards cash based transfers where transactions costs are minimised would appear to substantially increase wage transfer resources. This would effectively double the labour days generated and minimise risks of either resource scarcity or logistical constraints to availability.
- d) If donors provide food aid for EGS works, financial support to assist the government in funding non food aid related costs should be encouraged to overcome the problems shown by the case studies.
- e) It has been demonstrated, through the work of the regional Food Security Programmes of Amhara and Tigray, supported by the EC LFSU, that cash based transfers are not only logistically easier to handle, but they are also favoured by EGS beneficiaries if the equivalent in food aid value is provided.

The valuable experience of the REST FFR and WFP's Project 2488 implemented through the MoA, with the regional BoA's, needs to be mainstreamed into all natural resource related community planning approaches. The preparation of Local Level Participatory Plans (LLPP) could become the standard planning approach for rural development and should progressively move away from pure catchment rehabilitation programmes to link with other integrated micro watershed development approaches. Given that LLPP is inherently participatory, LLPP should be used as a suitable approach for the preparation of shelf projects whether under 2488 or under other non-WFP forms of grant aid support to rural development. Currently, the development of grassroots based voluntary organisations remains weak. Experiences from countries such as Taiwan, India and Vietnam among others could serve as useful models. Grassroots organisations, formed around specific market and non-market based

interests such as producer and service co-operatives would strengthen meaningful community dialogue in planning and implementation processes.

8.1.3 Organisational and Institutional Responsibilities

The various roles and responsibilities for the implementation of the NPDPM are detailed in the Directives for Disaster Prevention and Management and those for EGS in the EGS Guidelines. However, despite the fact that the role and responsibilities are clearly articulated, the directives and guidelines are not being followed in a systematic way. Clearly, institutional coordination is crucial for effective rural development and EGS is no exception. However, the roles and responsibilities prescribed in the directives and guideline, while logical, are not routinely followed and specific legislation related to institutional responsibilities needs to be passed and accompanied by policy implementation awareness and training similar to that currently done by CIDA through the SCF-ISP. Moreover, to strengthen this initiative executive public administration bodies such as the regional councils need to take the lead possibly through the assistance of the regional food security programme desks. Individual terms of reference and staff evaluation procedures will need to be amended to reflect these adjustments.

Development objectives relating to reducing vulnerability, under the NPDPM have not so far been achieved. Many senior Ethiopian officials consider that they have not been achieved at all. A regulatory relationship is required to assist the institutional arrangements for the NPDPM and linking the functions of relief and development institutions. The research shows that at present the planning relationship between DPPC (the resource channel) and line departments (the resource utiliser) remains unacceptably weak. Research suggests that the following proposal would overcome these problems:

In accordance with the sectoral allocations proposed above it is proposed¹¹⁸ that on an annual basis the following institutions receive a specific share of EGS resources, as part of their expanded mandate to cover for EGS as indicated under the directives to allow for greater institutional involvement and thus improve planning for rural development. Results show support for resources to be allocated under a framework agreement between the DPPC and line departments perhaps as follows¹¹⁸:

- a) Ministry of Agriculture and Bureaus of Agriculture 40 per cent of all EGS resources for integrated micro watershed development interventions in conjunction with regional food security units;
- b) Ethiopian and Regional Roads Authority 20 per cent of resources for inter-regional, inter-Zonal and inter-Woreda road construction
- c) 20 per cent of resources to the Ministry and Bureaus of Agriculture, SEART/SAERAR and Ministry and Bureaus of Water Mines and Energy for water supply development.

¹¹⁸ This proposal was one of many made by the researcher during his period as EGS coordinator, many of which have now found their way into EC and regional programmes.

- d) 20 per cent to the regional food security units for complimentary activities.

These resources would benefit from being programmed annually, based on the concept of a formal social protection mechanisms, through the line departments based on, where possible, resource guarantees on one side (DPPC/NDPPF etc.) and implementation guarantees on the other. This could allow for appropriate planning as envisaged under the policy and guidelines and demonstrated by the case studies.

In support of the NPDPM, the new regional food security programmes target assistance to drought prone Woredas of the four major regions of Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray. However, these new structures, at the core of government action on chronic vulnerability, currently have no formal role within the NPDPM and this needs to be urgently addressed given that the regional food security units have executive authority to co-ordinate regional food security interventions. The research has indicated that these units have a comparative advantage in the coordination of both the preparation of EGS projects and monitoring of the impact of regional initiatives on the specific regional poverty line dynamics.

8.1.4 Programme Efficiency, Effectiveness and Relevance

Efficiency is about money and time. The research does not show efficient use of relief food aid resources because by its very nature it is an extremely ineffective way of transmitting resources through a transfer entitlement programme. The cost of food aid, as a result of substantial transactions costs, both at the level of international delivery and post household distribution, can not be defended particularly where the problem is not quick onset and transitory, but rather slow arriving and slow departing. The issue of efficiency is not about saving lives but more about supporting livelihoods in a more coherent manner. Cash based transfer, which slash transaction costs and support, not destroy local markets need to be prioritised. The transfer efficiency is at least 2:1.

If food aid is targeted to address the problems of chronic poverty through EGS, international experience shows that in the long term this will act to decrease errors of targeting inclusion (of which there are many and blanket distribution is everywhere a problem) and increase transfer efficiency. If households, even those with sufficient income options have the opportunity to claim free food aid assistance as a supplementary income top up, they will fight for that right. This is not to be supported at any level as an appropriate response to a complicated set of entitlement decline variables

Effectiveness relates to the achievements of objectives whereas efficiency places a further measure of acceptable cost as a reference indicator. However, efficiency is difficult to assess because for EGS the measure will change for efficiency in meeting relief objectives (what is the value and cost of saving lives) and developmental objectives (rate of return on initial investment). The research shows that the GoE has been relatively effective at meeting relief objectives in the sense that in 1994 and on a smaller scale in recent years, lives have been saved. The reported infant deaths in

several food insecure areas during 2000 highlights the need to strengthen the GoE's relief response based on early warning information. However, despite the relative effectiveness in meeting relief objectives, overall programme efficiency remains low. This has been achieved at an annual cost of US\$ 200-300 million for direct costs from national and international sources equivalent to, based on an average year, US\$ 40-50 per person per year or half the GNP per capita in the latest WDR country listings. Given the value of human life this might seem to be an acceptable institutional cost. However, when it is considered that over 50% of these costs relate not to actual food transfers, but to transport, handling, storage and administrative activities, such interventions appear less efficient. The potential for the effective and efficient meeting of developmental objectives is less clear as impact on developmental objectives have remained un-monitored. All proxy indicators appear to demonstrate increased impoverishment in marginal areas. After 7 years of linking relief to development through EGS, few (if any) tangible capital assets have been created and none can be shown to have assisted in either drought proofing the economy or mitigating the effects of under performance in the agricultural sector.

The EGS programme remains clearly relevant both from a poverty mitigation and reduction perspective. The possible developmental impact of over 300 million labour days annually, if harnessed with an appropriate sectoral focus and resources, remains substantial. The relevance of EGS as a pure relief intervention however, comes into question given that delays in food aid are already considerable enough. However, given the annual predictability and intractability of the poverty dynamic in parts of rural Ethiopia, planned assistance to mirror annual labour demand is important and EGS is the only possible option here.

The research clearly demonstrates the potential for improved effectiveness and efficiency of relations between federal and regional and government and international co-operation partner modes of operation and suggests areas of institutional comparative advantage. The federal government is the gatekeeper for the programme and the regional governments are the administrative structures responsible for operationalising and meeting policy objectives. At the regional levels, legislative measures focused on rural development are currently not in place and the programme is differentially implemented by staff with varying degrees of policy and rural development awareness and experience. Although increasing available employment opportunities to a limited extent, the programme has failed to enhance the productive labour potential of the poor although one must acknowledge that the Government has made a number of important policy steps forward. These need to be consolidated.

8.1.5 Impact on Short Term Relief Objectives

The NPDPM displays a commitment to achieve two levels of objectives as previously described: short term relief and long-term productivity growth objectives. In fact, the research shows that the GoE has been successful to varying degrees in mitigating the effects of entitlement decline through the timely provision of relief food inputs and that most officials perceive that relief focused policy objectives had been moderately

achieved. Since 1991, the GoE has managed to secure the resourcing of significant commitments of food aid (over ~690,000 mt per annum and 1.2 million metric tonnes in 2000) and are generally perceived from within, as having managed to meet, to a great extent and with the significant assistance of the international community, most short term relief objectives. The existence of diluted rations through over inclusive targeting and health related complications problematise the idea that short-term objectives have been more effectively met than longer term objectives.

Food aid pledges are made towards the end of the year after the post harvest crop assessment and normally the food aid pipeline is at its lowest in the first 3 to 4 months of the year. In addition, the EFSR, which currently stands at a notional 406,000 mt, has also been drawn down to the minimum limit of ~70,000 mt because food aid has both been loaned out for food for work projects and impacted by late repayments. The research results would appear to suggest that:

- a) The GoE should make an advanced notional pledge (in food and cash) to increase the pipeline of assistance available between January and April each year. This fund should be built into the annual budget proclamation to support the NFDPM to be used either for local purchase or for cash based transfer EGS programmes.
- b) The changing face of aid (from food to cash assistance) should yield opportunities for maximising cash transfers that do not require a 6 months import window as food aid does. Accordingly, the relief appeal should not be organised solely around food aid requirements but rather should incorporate demand driven claims for employment.
- c) The EFSR should no longer be used to drawn down commitments for development projects as this reduces the physical stock available for more urgent and less programmable situations.
- d) Donors drawing down on the reserve should be given strict penalties if late replenishment is made. In theory this applies and replenishment periods of greater than 6 months are subject to a financial penalty. This should be operated as to minimise the problems created in 2000 where Government complaints of late donor repayments, late pledges and a slow donor response have in fact referred to a typical response timeframe which was unable to accelerate at the same pace as emergency needs.

In the NPDPM the concept of LRD is at the heart of the policy where relief food is channelled through EGS projects to build community based productive assets and thereby augment production and livelihood stress. One recurrent crisis within this concept in the sense that it may not be humanitarian to request those communities really affected by disaster (largely quick onset disasters such as war displaced, floods etc. and those who have either lost their homes, suffering from trauma and no longer with possessions) to work on labour intensive projects. In Ethiopia, is important to clearly disaggregate between strictly relief and non relief needs. This would allow the multi-annual provisioning of chronic resources and the annual commitment of seasonal emergency needs.

In many cases, both resource limitations (demand outstripping food aid supply) and late or erratic deliveries, have meant that instead of receiving the standard ration of 15 kg per person per month, monthly rations of even as low as 3 Kg have been reported. The problem is driven by the concept of equity – that all community members should be provided the same ration given that it is neither possible nor desirable for local Woreda or Kebele administrations to differentiate between those below, on or just above the poverty line. However, reduced rations to increase food aid coverage involves a blurring of objectives and a failure to implement the nutritional focus of the policy. It is recommended that, as is the case with Maharashtra, resource guarantees be sought so that an effective and enforceable wage rate policy can apply and sufficient resources need to be found either through domestic or international sources.

Considerable confusion appears to surround the prescribed daily food aid provision depending on assumptions regarding calorific requirements, average household size and the significance of a complete commodity basket (i.e. grains, pulses and oil). However, the research underlines that although of potential significance, such debates remain largely academic in the context in which EGS works and identification of work places are undertaken with little certainty regarding resource availability at the end of a certain period. Consequently, communities are effectively mobilised for the period of EGS implementation and then provided with gratuitous food aid as a 'reward' for their collective contribution. This current EGS scenario bears little relationship to the aim of meeting full nutritional requirements on the basis of a full ration daily payment rate to working household members.

8.1.6 Impact on Long Term Productivity and Poverty Reduction

Arguably the biggest challenge for the NPDPM is fulfilling the development objectives, providing a springboard for transforming rural livelihoods. Indeed, the research shows that achievement of development objectives through preparedness (the advanced preparation of shelf projects, EGS packages and the contingency plan) and prevention (through well implemented productive works leading to shifts in household incomes) remains in its formative stages. However, the research also leads to a number of important conclusions that allow a sectoral refocusing of the programme away from pure soil and water conservation but towards a more holistic approach to watershed development – linking conservation to production and the provision of targeted secondary services.

In general, EGS works have not exhibited the requirements to substantially contribute to drought proofing as evidenced by the rise in food aid and voices of poor groups living in marginal areas. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that in 2000 some 8-10 million people are to receive emergency assistance of over 1.2 million mt. Only a radical rethink of focal activities to meet developmental objectives is capable of turning the trend of a long-term increase in aggregate supply and demand gaps. Soil and water conservation, for example, does not directly translate to food security unless water extraction is effectively utilised. Moreover, food security can only be achieved when households move above the food security threshold (calculated at

2,100 Kcal per person per day for average active lives) through either own production or off farm income sources (income substitution). However, under the present EGS programme, as under most rural development endeavours, SWC continues to be at the heart of agricultural interventions (outside the extension programme and input packages) and implementation on a catchment basis remains rather piecemeal. While this is less true in Tigray where a more holistic approach has gradually been adopted, largely by REST, much needs to be done still to institutionalised alternative measures for natural resource / productivity linkages.

The EGS could be usefully reoriented, as is now being undertaken by TNRS and REST with the support of both government and international cooperation partners, into a labour based integrated micro watershed development programmes to link conservation to production in areas like the north east highlands among others. In Maharashtra, IMWD programmes have been implemented for over 15 years and experience has shown the importance of developing a coherent rural development framework based on productivity potentials and a comparative advantage in water percolation potentials. What is required is an IMWD programme based on linkage between physical and biological measures, catchment and command area development and exploring conservation and production advantages. The 32 newly chosen IMWD sites in Tigray, and the experiences in Atsi Wemberta among other Woredas should be used as models for other regional initiatives and a guideline needs to be urgently developed linking the SWC approaches adopted under Project 2488 (LLPP), REST, IrishAid, World Vision and the European Commission. Accordingly, the following phased approach to IMWD, as devised by the researcher with the Tigray regional food security unit, could be considered to transform the creation of productive assets under EGS.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Phase One: | Integrated Participatory Land Use Planning |
| Phase Two: | Integrated Catchment Rehabilitation |
| Phase Three: | Irrigation Expansion and Water Extraction |
| Phase Four: | Community Based Institutions Development |
| Phase Five: | Horticultural Development / Extension Support |
| Phase Six: | Social and Economic Sector Delivery |

In order to guarantee the developmental focus of the EGS programme, it is important that the BoA at regional levels strengthens the annual contingency plans, EGS packages and shelf projects towards supporting labour intensive rural development works that bring about longer term changes in livelihoods. If, as suggested above, 40 per cent of EGS funds are channelled through the MoA/BoA towards integrated micro watershed development programme and productivity potentials will increase. This will involve instructing line departments, through directives, to conform to a tighter interpretation of what constitutes a 'productive works' and capacity building on the new approaches to be adopted.

8.1.7 Sustaining Social Protection Policies and EGS Works

Sustainability refers to the enduring ability of an intervention to provide an appropriate return on investment, over the time period within which expected benefits accrue to users, and at the appropriate discount rate. However, given the apparent dichotomy between relief and development objectives there are clearly two levels against which assessments of sustainability are valid. The importance of capital asset creation in rural development focused on poverty reduction is obviously important. Research demonstrates that in areas where social and physical capitals can be organised, with the support of political and financial capital, more meaningful rural development can take place. This of course does not suggest that the approaches chosen for the decentralisation of public administration in areas such as Tigray, will automatically lead to poor policies however, experience shows that the greater the level of ownership of the tools of decision making, the more appropriate the proposed intervention is likely to be.

The promulgated of the policy itself might also be seen as a transitional, displaying considerable uncertainty with regard to the full implications of regionalisation within the federal structure.. The present policy has not been amended since 1993 despite changes in federal and regional poverty alleviation approaches, among which the federal and regional food security strategies are among the most important. All of these strategies include targeted measures for disaster prevention and preparedness. Accordingly, the early amendment to the policy, to reflect the moving currents of other inter-related policies needs to be urgently undertaken. In addition, the conclusions presented as part of this and other research need to be taken into consideration. In particular, the policy needs to be supported by a strong legal framework within which standards, regulations and directives are enforceable by law.

On the issue of financial sustainability the question of whether the resource supply will match resource demands as population growth and growth in numbers of landless continues to increase? International relief resources are presently in decline while present relief requirements in Ethiopia appear to be rising. According to the DPPC Five year Plan a reduction in relief beneficiaries was forecast although this has failed to materialise and donors are increasingly showing despair with the 'lost continent' where resources continue to be demanded on an ever-larger scale. However, as domestic production increases, as it has as a percentage of food aid receipts since 1995, and as the revenue capacity of the government increases, options for domestic financed safety nets could cover the deficit in international finance. In addition, if the government reinterprets the problem as chronic rather than transitory, alternative resources may well become available from various grant based budget lines. Major threats to achieving resource sustainability, and therefore the sustainability of EGS, include population growth of greater than 3 per cent (doubling in a little under thirty years). Regional officials supported the call for a clear population control policy also needs to be given greater support by the government.

The recent evolution in the regional food security programmes and the development of food security units will certainly challenge the present mandate of DPIC in future years as the effectiveness of development under different institutions is evaluated by the government. The greater the effectiveness the new structures, the greater the threat to DPPC as a structure perceived as capable for relief and development project delivery. Indeed, the possible streamlining of regional DPPBs, under the new food security structures would be a logical union uniting the three basis elements of the food security strategy: availability, access and humanitarian assistance. The sustainability of the new programme also depends very much on the availability of resources to maintain these structures both from the Government and through international grant aid.

The long term development of the NFPDM is critical to guaranteeing both wage transfer and capital inputs to increase the effectiveness of project implementation. One of the main challenges so far indicated is the lack of cash based support within which the complimentary provisioning of hardware for projects (tools, culverts, cement, timber etc.) can take place. The Government needs to increase spending for capital inputs in the longer run and the fund is a viable way of administering it – similar to the model used by the EFSRA. This would increase the call for a medium term expenditure framework for funding social protection.

The sustainability of interventions depends on the ability of line departments to plan, in a participatory way, with local communities based on clearly defined models of productivity-based interventions. The maintenance of works needs to be guaranteed possibly through local bylaws stating the long-term requirement for local communities to undertake maintenance of structures is legally binding. The monitoring of impact on livelihoods, through carefully selected indicators is an important information source that will increase awareness of sustainability issues.

8.2 Building a Sustainable Needs Responsive Social Protection Programme

Most of those affected by hunger suffer in silence. Three meals a day slips into two or one as the 'scarcity period' increasingly tightens its grip on communities. Hunger is the hard and sharp end of poverty and signifies both the collapse of appropriate public action and natural resources management responsibilities. Poverty reduction is clearly about strengthening macro economic performance through the development of a facilitatory approach to public private sector interventions at the same time as stimulating effective demand at the micro level, perhaps even through EGS. The issue of social protection is also important. As the constitution lays out the fundamental principles of state guaranteeing these principles needs to be reflected either directly or indirectly in the policies of the government and, where appropriate, in the government budget. As the constitution, and the NPDPM aim to encourage the empowerment of beneficiaries this also creates potentials and capacities for local self-government. Arguably the most successful form of self government in Ethiopia exists in Tigray where the grassroots structures, developed out of a period where widespread

consensus was a precondition for revolutionary support, are reflected at all levels of state structures. National development strategies can take advantage of these experiences and capacities acquired through community involvement in projects by widening the decisional range of local governments, which calls for administrative and political decentralisation. This is in line with the recognition that participation is not just about taking better decisions, but about bringing decisions closer to those who are concerned by them. Without fiscal, political and administrative decentralisation, successful participatory processes remain isolated and wanting of resources, and hence with little opportunity to contribute their positive impact to development. The research suggests that decentralisation efforts, preferably at the interface between public institutions and civil society, need to be developed. The reference to Tigray administration does not however negate the alternative arrangements laid in place in other areas of Ethiopia, but rather to cite an example of a forward thinking grassroots informed institutions.

The PRSP encourages the Ethiopian national development strategy along a path to decentralisation and the devolution of management responsibility, the EGS experience with decentralised planning is quite illuminating: matching the two sets of priorities established through sectoral and regional planning systems is a difficult issue, particularly in Ethiopia. Where however, countries with relatively advanced general administrative decentralisation, such as India, Ghana or Uganda the opportunities exist to decentralise development and strengthen the diversity of macro economic support options. The problem becomes even more acute with the new poverty focus because both sectoral and regional planners are invited to narrow down their interventions to ranges of poverty-relevant interventions – but these are not automatically identical from the two different perspectives. Clearly there needs to be coherence between sectoral and regional poverty focused interventions so that participation becomes meaningful for social and economic transition. A democratic elaboration of poverty-sensitive development policies requires the scaling up of participation from the local to the national level. For EGS, such scaling clearly demands that plans are grassroots driven from the Woreda (the development hub of Ethiopia) and this necessitates above all that a favourable political and social climate, as well as an institutional framework that provides the space to be responsive to change exist. Furthermore, civil society has to acquire the capacity to take up the dialogue with government and the EGS, if correctly planned, would allow, has been seen with both the SCF ISP and WFP interventions strengthened working relationships between communities and local governments.

This research has clearly identified areas of policy breakdown: the lack of awareness of senior government officials of the federal policy environment is a compelling argument for urgent reform of the way the government and international community currently tackle '*emergency related problems and target interventions*'. The process of administrative and fiscal decentralisation in Ethiopia needs to fully unfold and the final outcome, in terms of implications for viable pro poor policies and poverty reduction will need to be seen. The potential for the EGS programme to evolve into a 'formal social protection programme', to catch the chronically food insecure in,

remains retarded by Government capacities and donors ability to be responsive to needs. Focal cooperation partners such as the USAID and WFP need to co-ordinate to support the move away from a relief focused to a programmed safety net response. The recent moves by the World Bank to focus on Woreda based finance so as to enhance local level participation is an important step in Ethiopia. Chronically poor households posses significantly under-utilised labour assets (unemployment and under employment). In the context of broader economic reform, EGS is to be considered as one of a range of safety net tools to underpin the focus on agricultural productivity growth and rural income diversification. Given that it will purportedly take Ethiopia 80 years to reach the status of a middle income country, such measures, linked to rampant population growth, need to be considered.

In Ethiopia, a strong policy framework has been installed by the Government to address the problems of food and entitlement decline and comparisons with the Maharashtra EGS are broadly favourable at the higher policy level with perhaps the notable absence of a confirmed government commitment to the programme at the different levels of public administration and lack of clearly defined and implemented legislature. The research shows that the policy remains severely undermined by gaps in organisational planning leading to poor implementation at local government and community levels. Lack of awareness among senior Ethiopian government staff at both federal and regional levels of policy and operational procedures, and in particular the regional administration's capacity to translate federal policy into regional praxis remains a considerable bottleneck. In addition, the poor linkage between relief and non-relief focused line departments remains a travesty and unless some serious steps are made in the coming years the achievement of NPDPM objectives will remain at the present disappointing level.

The Tigray EGS programme, and approach to rural development is perhaps the most successful in Ethiopia and this strategy for public action has benefited from strong regional government support and highly committed regional officials. Innovative approaches have been developed by REST and the new regional government food security programmes. The increasing focus on micro watershed development (linking conservation to production) as a vehicle for EGS (linking gainful employment with productivity growth) will extend communities entitlements to production from natural resources. Recent steps to institutionalise and overcome the problems of food security in Amhara also needs to be recognised and this reform is evidenced by recent changes in land administration policy for example.

Critical areas on which to focus reform efforts include the role of the agricultural bureaus in promoting appropriate water extraction technologies in command areas and the reform of the extension system toward a demand driven people focused programme to consolidate potential gains. The development of informal community based institutions needs to be strengthened as does the process of regional public administration reforms. Zones and Woredas are in urgent need of capacity building support in how to plan with the community, appropriate productivity focused interventions. The initiatives of the EC Local Food Security Unit, WFP 2488, Irish

Aid and World Vision are welcome additions that support rather than supersede local efforts. The Tigray regional administration has, and continues to show, the highest concern for its people and commitment to public action remains strong. That communities appear to identify closely with the local government is also a healthy indicator.

The Amhara EGS exhibits many of the characteristics of its Tigraian counterpart, although public administration capacity remains far weaker. This may to some extent be caused by constraints related to targeting a population five times larger and over four times greater distance. Nevertheless, in Amhara, as in Tigray, positive signs of administrative transformation are apparent, both in terms of EGS and rural development policy more generally. As a general rule the role of international partner organisations has been strong in support of relief efforts but very weak in terms of demonstrating potential models for alternative developmental approaches focused on strengthening rural livelihoods. International NGOs with a long standing presence in these areas are obvious targets for such criticism, although there are exceptions.

8.3 Conclusion

Social protection policies need to be responsive to the needs and capabilities of the poor, at the same time as leading to a reduction in risk, through increased coping. The aim would be to maximise the potential capital gain, both in the short and medium terms at the same time as minimising the size of the maximum livelihood loss. Where EGS works have been planned in a participatory manner, to address priority needs and driven by labour demand, incomes have been boosted and consumption losses reduced.

Policy, institutional and implementation results have provided a broad framework within which wider policy appropriateness discussion can be framed. Much work needs to be done in developing and regionalising the policy. Direct state measures for social protection are to be relevant, efficient and effective in meeting social protection objectives. These will need to build upon positive case studies and experience, as well as public policy dialogue with the poor, to address chronic and seasonal livelihood risks. Federal and regional administrations will need to explore more fully the cost benefit of social protection measures vis a vis alternative strategies but would do well to mainstream EGS into development based area programmes funded through a medium term expenditure framework.

The overall policy framework presented by the Government is progressive, but remains retarded by the poor capacities exhibited at lower levels of administration. The physical well being of the poor and isolation from employment and infrastructure can both be addressed through EGS through the build up of productive capital assets. However, results show that a quantum leap is needed both in terms of policy awareness, institutional efficiency and implementation effectiveness. The most effective case study, provided by REST, bears testament to the importance of

developing democratic grassroots organisations where by rural development priorities can be set based on the express needs of the rural poor themselves.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

The researcher finds it appropriate to comment on his particular input as a key player in formulating federal and regional social protection policies with Government on behalf of the EC and UK DFID. The researcher actively programmed, coordinated and implemented EGS programmes as well as directing the development of both regional policies with senior government officials to the level of Prime Ministerial advisors. Much of what has been researched, and many of the results, have already been taken up as part of the ongoing policy dialogue between the EC and Government and in particular, the disaggregation of different EGS research aspects, has provided a broader understanding of EGS and social protection in Ethiopia. This research has provided a conceptual framework for evaluating the impact of EGS works and social protection policies, contributed to enhanced awareness of important social protection programming issues and provides detailed analysis of its implementation in Ethiopia, with cross national comparative research with Maharashtra. In addition, the research has opened up new directions for future research in this area by posing many important research questions, emanating from these findings.

That said, this research has focused on assessing policy, institutional and implementation issues related to the achievement of social protection objectives under the EGS programme. Clearly, at present, the attainment of both short term relief and longer term development objectives are being hampered by a range of fundamental bottlenecks largely resulting from the extremely weak capacities of the Woreda administration in particular and the somewhat outmoded relief food aid approach to overcoming serious rural livelihood problems. As a result, both the nutritional support and capital asset formation potentials of EGS remain compromised. The preceding chapter has expanded on the results presented by outlining a set of important policy principles for a formal social protection programme to be central to current poverty reduction programme initiatives and regional food security programmes. However, given that EGS is retarded by both endogenous (the capacity of public administration at Woreda and federal-regional linkage levels) and exogenous (external funding dependency and backward donor policies) constraints the implications of the research relate as much to the implementation of the NPDPM as to the implementation of rural development policies in general. It is highly likely that the poor overall attainment of social protection objectives is contingent on a host of policy and institutional constraints not being adequately addressed by federal and regional administrations.

The following conclusions, build on the results and previous discussion chapter and highlight the need for an appropriate and realistic policy framework addressing the priority needs of the rural poor. EGS is but one example of such a policy response although research shows the significance of this experience for other sectors too.

9.2 Methodological Conclusions: Linking Qualitative and Quantitative

The methodologies adopted for this research have been broad based and experimental and include participatory observation at its core. Surveys, key informants and PRA related methods have provided a rich texture of data at all levels of the programme. Participatory learning and action have been the output and federal and regional research agendas have already been affected by these results. Working for the European Commission and UK DFID has presented the opportunity to meet regularly, either in bilateral meetings or as a committee member of the various committees, with other key institutional representatives and to share experiences and exchange ideas. The process of linking quantitative and qualitative work on policy and institutional issues related to the national policy and EGS in particular enabled a '*systemic*' and holistic approach to be adopted where a range of stakeholder voices have been systematically heard. In the end, the methods have focused on building an holistic policy based set of results, at the possible expense of obtaining a clearer picture of the EGS mosaic as experienced by the poor themselves. The researcher has opted to conduct this research from within the ranks of the public administration and methods have been selected accordingly.

The cross national comparative research with Maharashtra yielded important space within which to explore policy, institutional and implementation variances working closely with 55 senior Ethiopian officials. The Maharashtra programme substantially enhanced the scope and impact of the research. What follows is a set of important methodological strengths and weaknesses stemming from this research:

Methodological Strengths:

- a) Participatory observation has proved invaluable to explore, from a key resource persons perspective, the relationships between people, institutions, variables and management issues. The development of the regional programmes by the researcher and with the regional governments of Amhara and Tigray assisted in constant grounding of the research.
- b) Over 6 years direct observation (3 years living in Tigray and 3 years in Addis Ababa, the national capital) based on detailed community based fieldwork as well as policy support to DPPC, MEDaC EC and UK-DFID..
- c) Comparative assessment of cross-country (Ethiopia – India) and cross regional (Federal - Amhara – Tigray) experience providing rich information on alternative approaches and measures.
- d) Linking of quantitative and qualitative methods allows a bigger picture to be built up at the same time as recognising specific measurements of implementation.
- e) Opportunity taken to cross reference doctoral research and conclusions through the presentation over the research period of some 22 papers at national and international work shops on the same and related subjects.

- f) The research on policy and legal environments enabled the research to be grounded in the political and policy context of Ethiopia under the process of regional decentralisation.
- g) The methodology was talked through in great detail with my supervisor and has undergone testing at different levels.

Methodological Weaknesses:

- a) Participatory observation can clearly create a bias as I represented a particular institution and therefore special set of interests.
- b) The wider-scope approach embracing policy and praxis meant that a closer picture of a particular community or households could not be built up. There is therefore no specificity about the results and conclusions with the exception of Woreda based research where conducted in Amhara and Tigray. However, the research has utilised, where possible, contextual information driven from a more people focused level.
- c) Such comprehensive research has taken a long time to collect and the field work has not been focused on a specific period but rather as a process over four years.
- d) Methods that have not provided a clear set of results include wealth ranking where insufficient base line data and lack of quantifiable information were major limitations.
- e) It has also been complicated to prioritise important contributions as hundreds of voices have been woven into the final analysis, including my own as an active participant.

9.3 Concluding Comments

EGS is a central tool of social protection policies in Ethiopia although one of only a handful of measures that could be imagined, within which the wider problems of rural livelihood decline can be addressed. Options for the wider participation of poor groups in programme design and implementation can increase the inclusivity of social protection measures leading to a stronger role for communities in local governance. EGS must therefore be viewed as a springboard for rural growth and social, institutional, economic and financial capital assets can be formed once the latent potentials of the current programme have been overcome. However, as neither the livelihood impact or overall effectiveness of the national policy have been evaluated by the Government, it is only through research such as this that important social protection issues find exposure. Presently, the *de facto* creation of over 300 million labour days annually continues with such evaluation and therefore important programming lessons, as highlighted through the results and case studies in particular, are not being overcome. What follows are the perceived implications of the research findings on future social protection directions in Ethiopia.

However, it has not been all bad. Many examples of good programming and sound EGES works have also existed although the picture is often worsened by the many

poor examples implemented over the past 20 years or more. REST, the regions, WFP, the EC and DPPC have contributed towards greater awareness of the cases and effects of the different constraints.

9.3.1 For Policy

The policy has been influenced by international experience in social protection through EGS and is targeted to meet short and medium term social objectives. However, fundamental elements have not been put in place as evidenced by the results presented. Realisation of this fact caused the EC to demand reform of the national policy and policy measures through enactment. The risks of external funding, with its associated resource insecurity, should be minimised so that implementation can be implemented in accordance with the plans set. This was to done and the fragmentation of efforts continue to undermine the work of the Government. However, to overcome this, EGS should ultimately be driven by domestic resources to the extent possible. The policy, directives, programmes and guidelines should have been developed as a single policy package, in local languages, and disseminated through an appropriate legislature to the different levels of administration. Likewise adequate political and financial support should be provided to assist in meting social protection objectives thereby improving policy sustainability.

The process of decentralisation possesses both constraints and opportunities. Constraints include the relative incapacity for programme implementation at the lower administrative levels and the lack of ear marked funding through the budget matched with capital inputs through the NDPPF. Opportunities for pro poor policy development at the regional level are hinged on the issue of increased policy ownership and identification and by a large research concluded that federal policies are considered less important as the region is increasingly operating, in governance and economic development terms under an increasingly nationalistic economic development approach wherein the federal level and other surrounding states are not seen as trading partners in some of the more important factor markets such as labour.

Guaranteeing the efficiency and effectiveness of social protection initiatives requires an appropriate system of legislation within which to mainstream policies and policy guidelines. Such a system would need to be premised on legislative control over the policy environment whereby all stakeholders would be informed at the appropriate level so as to guarantee the minimum standard of implementation. This would need to involve grater regional ownership of the policy making process, however, EGS is increasingly donor driven and real political support is provided to important political economy issues. The policy formulation and promulgation process needs to be reviewed by the government and where information exchange has not occurred, changes to administrative procedures need to be made. The policy should live and evolve based on monitoring of objectives and programme impact/performance. Institutional constraints also needs to be reviewed to reflect the new institutional capacities presented by the regional food security units.

9.3.2 For the Directives and EGS Guideline

Results suggest that both the directives and guideline, if implemented efficiently, form a sound basis for programme implementation, once resource constraints have been overcome. However, a number of retarding elements persist that need to be addressed. Firstly, the regional governments should urgently review the institutional and implementation arrangements and prepare a slimmed down version based on the most appropriate mode of operation at a particular institutional level. This would undoubtedly involve streamlining procedures for the programme within the present line department operational procedure so as to minimise risks of non compliance. The implementation of the guidelines would need to be supported by regional proclamations to strengthen policy awareness and funds for dissemination and policy orientation need to be provided. The implementation of the policy needs to be supported under the annual budget and linked to, at a minimum level, to provide resource guarantees, from both the government and donors. So far, it is international NGOs that are afforded a mention in the Directives and Guidelines and the role of donors has been sadly overlooked. However, donors too can provide budget support to build programme capacities and minimise resource constraint risks as experienced at all levels.

The Guidelines, as they are presented, are too ambitious for the present capacities of local government and, when combined with resource limitations and the timing of inputs, the incapacity leads to an inefficient and ineffective programme. The uptake of the guidelines has somehow been a manifestation of the general way in which policy guidelines are implemented in Ethiopia. Too much emphasis has been focused on high level administrations and most lower level officials remain only marginally in the picture. The almost voluntaristic uptake of the guidelines shows that information does not flow within the administrations and between levels as one might expect.

Greater institutional support between mandated regional and federal offices of the government is needed in familiarisation, adaptation, capacity building and monitoring.

9.3.3 For Organisations and Institutional Responsibilities

The links between relief and development institutions will need to be reviewed. Presently, EGS is seen as the exclusive role and responsibility of DPPC which is serious undermines the policy and its directives. Under the policy DPPC is responsible largely for linking the relief assessment and resource side, through early warning and employment needs assessment, to hand over to more developmental focused institutions. These institutions have not been active in taking up their responsibility and lack of enactment, has reduced the policy to a voluntary rather than mandatory programme. DPPC has not had the authority or mandate to convince line departments to adopt the policy as a regular activity and the lack of integration of EGS into holistic Woreda rural development plans undermines the attainment of development objectives – capital formation in support of sustainable rural livelihoods.

The concept of LRD has not been institutionalised well in most regions (Tigray being the notable exception) in terms of formal mandated relationships and responsibilities based on resource guarantees. Accordingly, at present LRD does not sufficiently operate as a defining concept and resource flows remain relief and not developmentally focused.

Clearly, DPPC is the wrong institution to develop the programme and its role should be more clearly defined within the overall framework. The over emphasise on relief and not development side planning has undermined the status of the programme. Donors and international NGOs feel that they are trying to support a policy that has not been well designed at the implementation level few responsibilities are taken up by the administration. A federal body, outside DPPC, such as MEDaC, would be better placed to focus on resource based linkages with the MoA and ERA for example. It would be appropriate that resource guarantees, with the government as the donor of first and not last resort, would accompany any new clearly delineated responsibilities under the programme. Anyhow, a review of current institutional uptake of EGS should be internalised by the government and sweeping amendments made.

9.3.4 For Efficiency, Effectiveness and Relevance

Achievement of efficiency or effectiveness under the programme needs to be properly assessed so that the overall productivity return can be measured. The research shows that the efficiency of food aid as an instrument for development should be questioned unless positive rates of return are systematically achieved. However, any negotiation on the appropriate response would need to take the issues of self targeted cash transfers seriously as at present the inefficiencies inherent in the system are substantial (delayed payments, redistribution, errors of inclusion and exclusion etc.). The efficiency of the labour created, judged through comparison of wages paid to work output achieved, has been low.

The effectiveness of the programme, as it has been implemented so far and as attested to by senior government officials remains low. Few assets, productive in nature, have been created. In fact, assets have been either non productive or only partially so. Assets have not changed peoples lives or livelihoods and this is a major disappointment. The potential for employment provision in the region of 300 million plus labour days a year, channelled through participatory micro watershed development programmes, that are comprehensively planned and focused on ground water extraction appears attractive. However, unless such a focus was supported by a stronger policy, planned resourced, appropriate guidelines and operational reforms at the level of public administrations assets created would also be marginalised. The almost exclusive focus on common land rehabilitation created lack of ownership and the watering down of potential assets, if they were to be created. Command area development should also be conducted under EGS/EBSN so as to clearly locate benefits in the incomes of households at that level. To increase effectiveness on the

relief side, the landless should be principle beneficiaries as the upcoming underclass in Ethiopia.

The relevance of the programme has not been questioned with the possible exception of the overly comprehensive nature of the Guideline which is considered to be too detailed. However, another level of concern is raised by the results. If the problem to be addressed is in fact not transitory, but chronic, would food aid be an efficient or effective intervention mechanism? The research suggests that it is not. In fact, the relevance of EGS as a disaster response is premised on the existence of a disaster and on donor funding and largely in kind. However, if the problem were more correctly defined as one of entitlement decline, employment could be created on a more cash or food for work basis under programmed schemes leaving the real relief intervention to remain gratuitous. In fact, when all has been considered, the relevance of the programme is premised on the continued irrelevance of the present relief emergency response. If this were challenged, and other resources were prioritised, a formal ongoing and not disaster linked EBSN would be, as has been the case in Maharashtra, an appropriate one.

9.3.5 For Short Term Relief Objectives

The impact on short term relief, as evidenced by the latest nutrition figures in areas such as Somali Region, SNNP, Oromia in places like Kindo Koisha or Konso, demonstrate that the relief function is clearly not covering all the needs. Targeting errors remain substantial and both wage transfer and capital input resource availability remain logistically challenged or insufficient respectively. Sadly, food is as important to the transport sector as it is as a transfer programme as the cost of international and internal transport remain extortionate. Delays in food aid delivery, internal transport constraints and wage redistribution continues to impact on the wage value of EGS targeted short term relief objectives.

Each and every year, reports of nutrition poor groups in outlying areas filter though after nutritional monitoring has been conducted by NGOs for example. However, the response remains slow and often inappropriate in two principle ways. Firstly, the causes for entitlement decline are not being overcome in deficit producing areas but rather compounded by population pressure and the struggle to monopolise ever decreasing community level resources. Secondly, the question has been raised whether food aid is an appropriate response given the seemingly intractability of the production and income constraints? These comments do not deny the fact that each year hundreds of thousands of tonnes reach poor households but it does question whether what they receive is an appropriate response, the timeliness of the support and the targeting of who receives it. Presently, the population in areas of the north east highlands is twice what it was in 1984. In the next twenty years too, unless alternative income sources are made available to these groups, the demand for food will double in Ethiopia and aggregate food availability may decline unless transformation in the agricultural sector is achieved. Options for increasing non agricultural based incomes

remain low and sadly, the scenario of 1984 remains an ever present threat unless the government address these short term problems within a longer term perspective.

9.3.6 For Longer Term Development Objectives

The research concludes that longer term development objectives are being significantly under achieved although assets are being created. The latent labour potential of the programme remains substantial while Woreda capacities for planning and implementation remain weak. The NPDPM, like the governments policy of ADLI, throws the challenge of development to the lowest level of formal administration and yet this is precisely the level where capacities remain underdeveloped both from a human and physical capacity point of view. The case studies show that significant assets have been created under the programme, although particularly in Tigray, although the assets by themselves are insufficient to kick start the economic 'take off' phase that neo-liberal economist dream about. Rural Ethiopia remains a low production low demand economy.

The sectoral focus of EGS is less than convincing from a point of view of household incomes. The EGS programmes of organisations such as SCF (Canada/UK) and many other international co-operation partners are stronger relief than development responses. From a technical point of view it is often relief coordinators trying to link relief inputs to activities and planning for productivity growth is rare. The quality of roads and SWC remains poor and piecemeal. The ISPs achievements have been on the relief side of the equation and, while much has been transformed in the areas of operation from an administrative awareness point of view, again, the development side remains subservient to the relief objective. The need to take relief away from the responsibility of DPPC, as a development intervention perspective, remains vital. The WFP related interventions have achieved positive results from a planning and implementation point of view although the concept of catchment rehabilitation, as it is practised, remains insufficient as a food security related intervention per se. The REST approach to FFR has been cited as a positive example allowing fixed asset formation at a household and not community level and REST's close relationship with communities and local administration is a good example of institutional integration.

The participatory micro watershed development programme proposed under the TNRS/EC EGS programme provides an opportunity to refocus on command and lower catchment area production while at the same time fulfilling an employment generation function. The programme however, will need the regional administration to overhaul its present approach to rural development and planning and training, experience sharing and skills development need to be prioritised. The LRD concept could usefully be re-termed the Linking Conservation to Production (LCP) approach in Ethiopia where sadly, conservation has been seen as an end in its self rather than a means to achieving greater production potentials.

Proposals for integrated planning, as part of the micro watershed development approach, have already been made. It is proposed that EGS resources are channelled

through line departments within the wider framework of micro watershed development where appropriate although support for this new concept will need to be built steadily. The Maharashtra programme provides opportunities for exchange tours of officials, from regional and Woreda levels, to identify planning activities to strengthen this programme. Inevitably, the extension system will need to focus on the development of micro watersheds rather than just agricultural inputs and model structures would need to be developed such as Atsbi Wemberta.

EGS is being compromised from a relief and development objective point of view although the relief function dominated but does not sufficiently allow the employment created to be meaningful to livelihood. However, if the EGS programme focuses more on developmental planning the problems of targeting errors at the level of area targeting may increase. The integration of EGS into normal activities however, remains a vital, and yet under exploited issue. If EGS is not working at the lower level of administration the constraints need to be addressed.

9.3.7 For Sustainable Livelihoods

The process of capital formation and accumulation is not taking place on any meaningful level in rural Ethiopia. Seasonal gains made in one seasons production provide buffers for losses in subsequent seasons. Describing this process through different entitlements, livelihoods and capabilities perspectives makes little difference to rural households as social transformation at that level need to be influenced as much by the government as by the household. Constraints on production, labour and inputs are everywhere a problem. Research suggests that the relief intervention is sustainable in the short to medium term from a resource perspective although it is thoroughly unacceptable from a governance perspective. The sustainability of the development perspective, particularly if viewed in terms of productive activities lies in doubt. Despite 30 years of rural development, less than a handful of productive irrigation structures exist for example whereas millions of dollars have been lost in the cause. Assessment of rates of return on investment for grant aid projects is not conducted and would surely be negative given any discount rate,

Political capital for the EGS programme remains highest at the federal level and DPPC in particular. The programme is seen as a DPPC intervention although DPPC does not have sufficient power to be able to influence the regional administrations of the programmes potential impact. The natural capital being developed through the programme is, as stated, not productive and has not lead to asset creation at household levels. At the community level, structures such as catchment area terracing and roads are being built although their impact too remains marginal to entitlements, expanding capabilities and sustaining livelihoods. Physical and financial sustainability have not yet been met and under-resourcing for the programme is everywhere a problem. The only direct benefit from the programme has been the potential for some key organisations like REST to attempt to encourage grassroots participation and community networks to be established from a social capital point of view. WFP too have assisted in this process.

In the longer term, the sustainability of the programme, and therefore of donor resources, depends on achieving some successes from a household entitlements of livelihood perspective. So far, achievement of sustainability remains retarded and long term programme induced changes are few and far between. Those that do exist should be seen from an opportunity cost perspective although even this rather rudimentary measure of choices for productivity has not been made.

Critically, rural livelihoods are affected by a range of policy and institutional constraints among which those identified here, as important, but not wholly inclusive. For example, land, labour and migration policies may also be in need of reform.

9.4 Areas for Further Advanced Research

Given both the scope of the social protection policies and the EGS programme in particular, the following areas for follow on research have been identified as key areas leading to greater impact on poverty reduction in Ethiopia. These areas have not been covered comprehensively by this research. These include research into:

- a) the responsiveness of the national policy for different needs as expressed in rural and urban poverty settings;
- b) policy enactment and the need to evolve appropriate legislation measures for social protection;
- c) the role of public administration reform for social protection;
- d) self-targeting approach to EGS resource transfers as a means to minimise errors of exclusion and inclusion.
- e) food and cash based transfer preferences of different household types.
- f) productive works to be taken up under the EGS and detailed field based recommendations for successful rural development models.
- g) The livelihood impact of EGS at a household level focused around detailed assessment of the build up of different capital assets.
- h) Research into the process of regional decentralisation and importantly, on the role of federal policy making for regional administrations.

Other areas of research could be envisaged related to more particular details although clarification on many of the above issues would lead to greater awareness of significant issues at both the governments and international communities level.

9.5 Final Considerations

Protecting life in accordance with a democratic constitution and in a poor transitional economy such as Ethiopia is an uphill struggle for public administration, civil society and international community organisations. However, gains have been made and continue to be made at the hands of these officials who endeavour, in spite of difficult circumstances, to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of social protection policies. However, the sobering warning of the World Bank needs to be born in mind:

it will take Ethiopia 18 years to double per capita income, some 40 years to reach the sub Saharan average and 80 years to reach the lower entry point for a middle income country. This research has shown, as has the support afforded to me by all participating organisations, colleagues and friends, that much good can be born out of commitment to ensuring the evolution of current mechanisms. However, resolve in the face of continued challenges is called for.

Social protection is expensive, demands political commitment and international support. If sustainable rural livelihoods are to be attained, policy and institutional reforms in other important areas and sectors will be needed. The establishment of the new food security units in Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray, is an example of a progressive and forward thinking administration ready to face the challenges head on. The research results show a need for regions to afford greater consideration to developing independent social protection measures taking the following key research findings into consideration. Regions will need to:

- a) develop regional social protection strategies responsive to the particular needs of rural vulnerability in a given context;
- b) focus on enhancing capabilities and the comparative advantage of the poor,
- c) carefully consider policy enactment accompanied by budget support and social protection conditionalities for implementing institutions;
- d) lending for institutional development and capacity building particularly for lower level administrations;
- e) alternative, balanced and complimentary social risk management approaches including, where appropriate, suitable insurance schemes.

The researcher can only request that the conclusions and recommendations reached, many of which are wholly original, can be taken forward in the spirit intended. In addition, I hope that the rather pragmatic stance taken does not offend those who may feel I have avoided what they might view as the more positive experiences and impacts. The researchers ultimate objective has been consistently to uncover critical elements and issues that are in need of reform to assist in beating the poverty crisis.

The researcher has secured funds from the EC to translate an abridged version of this thesis into Amharic, and for copies to be made freely available to all stakeholders implementing EGS in Ethiopia, upon request.

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Appendix 1 EGS Works Formats

Format EGS-1.1

Shelf Project/EGS Summary Sheet

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Region | Kebele |
| Zone | Work Site(s) |
| Woreda | |
| Project title | |
| Implementing agency | |
| Objectives | |
| Expected benefits | Physical outputs |
| (for EGS only) | |
| Planned commencement date | Expected completion date |
| Employment to be generated (by phases of implementation, where appropriate) | |
| total person-days | |
| max. number of workers | |
| Major non-wage inputs required | |
| skilled manpower | |
| machinery/equipment | |
| tools | |
| Total cost | |
| Hand-over/follow-on arrangements | |
| Seasonal/other constraints on implementation | |
| Assumptions and risks | |
| Date of original preparation | Date of last up-date |

LABOUR REQUIREMENT

Woreda

Scheme

Kebele

Implementing agency

| No. | Activity | Total number of labourers | Total working days | Total person-days (PDs) | Person-days (by month) | | | | | | Remarks |
|-----|----------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|---------|
| | | | | | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Jan. | Feb. | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |

[illegible]

COST ESTIMATES / BUDGET

Woreda

Scheme

Kebele

Implementing agency

Possible sources may include: Government regular development budget, NGO, donors (though FDPPC, NDPPE, or directly), own (Regional Government, implementing agency), the community and others.

| No. | Input | Unit | Quantity | Unit Cost (in Birr) | Cost/Budget (in Birr) | | | | Remark |
|-----|-------------------------|---------|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------|
| | | | | | Total | Source 1 | Source 2 | Source 3 | |
| 1 | Food / cash (for wages) | Kg/Birr | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Skilled manpower | | | | | | | | |
| | 2.1 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2.2 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2.3 | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Tools (handtools) | No. | | | | | | | |
| | 3.1 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3.2 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3.3 | | | | | | | | |

| No. | Input | Unit | Quantity | Unit Cost (in Birr) | Cost/Budget (in Birr) | | | | Remark |
|-----|---|------|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|--------|
| | | | | | Total | Source 1 | Source 2 | Source 3 | |
| 4 | Machinery (if any) 4.1 4.2 4.3 | No. | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Equipment and Materials 5.1 5.2 | No. | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Amenities 6.1 6.2 6.3 | No. | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Operating expense 7.1 7.2 7.3 | No. | | | | | | | |

IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE (WORK PLAN)

Woreda

Scheme

Kebele

Implementing agency

Schedule can be indicated in the form of Gant Chart.

[illegible]

[illegible]

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION PLAN FOR AN EGS

Woreda

Scheme

Kebele

Implementing agency

| S/N | Cost items | Total requirement | Proposed source | | | | | Remarks |
|-----|--|-------------------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------|-----|-----------|---------|
| | | | Regular development budget | FDPPC | Regional Government | NGO | Community | |
| 1 | Wages: 1.1 Food 1.2 Cash 1.3 (<i>when food-wage paid in kind</i>) Food handling/distribution costs | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Skilled (and semi-skilled) manpower 2.1 Foremen/women 2.2 Sitemen and supervisors 2.3 Experts 2.4 Artisans 2.5 CHA (where needed) 2.6 Storekeepers 2.7 Guards 2.8 Other | | | | | | | |

| S/N | Cost items | Total requirement | Regular development budget | FDPPC | Regional Government | NGO | Community | Others | Remarks |
|-----|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------|-----|-----------|--------|---------|
| 3 | Hand tools | | | | | | | | |
| | 3.1 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3.2 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3.3 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3.4 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3.5 | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Machinery | | | | | | | | |
| | 4.1 | | | | | | | | |
| | 4.2 | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Equipment and materials | | | | | | | | |
| | 5.1 | | | | | | | | |
| | 5.2 | | | | | | | | |
| | 5.3 | | | | | | | | |
| | 5.4 | | | | | | | | |

| S/N | Cost items | Total requirement | Regular development budget | FDPPC | Regional Government | NGO | Community | Others | Remarks |
|-----|--|-------------------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------|-----|-----------|--------|---------|
| 6 | Amenities 6.1 First aid kit(s) 6.2 Shade/temporary shelter -- non-local construction materials 6.3 Drinking water -- transport and on-site storage, when unavoidable | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Operating expenses 7.1 Orientation and on-the-job training 7.2 Surveys / studies 7.3 Staff per diem (for temporarily redeployed staff) 7.4 Local transport (including pack animals) 7.5 Treatment of injuries 7.6 Contingency for replacement of lost/damaged tools and equipment, and repair of damaged structures at the site 7.7 Miscellaneous items (stationery, etc.) 7.8 Other site-specific expenses | | | | | | | | |

HANDTOOLS REQUISITION

Region Woreda Scheme
Zone Kebele Implementing agency 19

| No. | Types of Activities | Requested Tools | | | Remarks | (for use by storekeeper) Quantity approved |
|-----|---------------------|-----------------|------|----------|---------|---|
| | | Type | Unit | Quantity | | |
| | | | | | | |

Requested by:
Title
Signature
Date

Checked by:
Title
Signature
Date

Approved by:
Title
Signature
Date

Scheme Implementing agency Date 19

| No. | Types of Activities | Requested Tools | | | Remarks | (for use by storekeeper) Quantity approved |
|-----|---------------------|-----------------|------|----------|---------|---|
| | | Type | Unit | Quantity | | |
| | | | | | | |

Requested by:
Title -----
Signature -----
Date -----

Checked by:
Title -----
Signature -----
Date -----

Approved by:
Title -----
Signature -----
Date -----

DELIVERY OF HANDTOOLS

Region FROM: FOR: Scheme

Zone Tool store Implementing agency

Date 19

| No. | Types of Tools | Unit | Quantity | Remarks (condition, etc.) |
|-----|----------------|------|----------|---------------------------|
| | | | | |

Delivered by:

Name
Title
Department
Place
Date
Signature

Received by:

Name
Title
Department
Place
Date
Signature

Scheme Implementing agency Date 19

| No. | Types of Tools | Unit | Quantity | Remarks (condition, etc.) |
|-----|----------------|------|----------|---------------------------|
| | | | | |

Delivered by:

Name -----
Title -----
Department -----
Place -----
Date -----
Signature -----

Received by:

Name -----
Title -----
Department -----
Place -----
Date -----
Signature -----

Figure EGS-2.5

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION PLAN FOR WOREDA-LEVEL SUPPORT TO EGS

Zone

Woreda

| S/N | Cost items | Total requirement | Proposed source | | | | | Remarks |
|-----|--|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----|-----------|---------|
| | | | Regular dev. budget | FDPPC (Federal Government) | Regional Government | NGO | Community | Others |
| 1 | Operation of RFOs (for payment of food wages) 1.1 Renting/repair/construction of additional, temporary RFOs 1.2 Storekeepers 1.3 Weighing scales; distribution containers 1.4 Miscellaneous (stationery, etc.) | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Transportation of food to RFOs 2.1 Transport costs (commercial transport) 2.2 Loading and unloading | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Supervisory Transport (shared between different EGS) 3.1 Small field vehicle 3.2 Motorcycles 3.3 Fuel, oil and lubricants for shared (inter-sectoral) supervisory vehicles 3.4 Rental of animal/other local transport | | | | | | | |

Figure EGS-2.5 (page 2)

| S/N | Cost items | Total requirement | Regular dev. budget | FDPPC (Federal Government) | Regional Government | NGO | Community | Others | Remarks |
|-----|---|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----|-----------|--------|---------|
| 4 | Field equipment (shared between different EGS) 4.1 4.2 4.3 | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | General support costs 5.1 Coupon distribution costs 5.2 Other support costs | | | | | | | | |

Appendix 2 Questions for Research Methods

Population Issues

- Can the population be enumerated?
- Is the population literate?
- Are there language issues?
- Will the population cooperate?
- What are the geographic restrictions?

Sampling Issues

- What data is available?
- Can respondents be found?
- Who is the respondent?
- Can all members of population be sampled?
- Are response rates likely to be a problem?

Question Issues

- What types of questions can be asked?
- How complex will the questions be?
- Will screening questions be needed?
- Can question sequence be controlled?
- Will lengthy questions be asked?
- Will long response scales be used?

Content Issues

- Can the respondents be expected to know about the issue?
- Will respondent need to consult records?

Bias Issues

- Can social desirability be avoided?
- Can interviewer distortion and subversion be controlled?
- Can false respondents be avoided?

Interviews are among the most challenging and rewarding forms of measurement. They require a personal sensitivity and adaptability as well as the ability to stay within the bounds of the designed protocol. Here, I describe the preparation you need to do for an interview study and the process of conducting the interview itself.

Appendix 3 List of Key Informants

| | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Ato Berhane Araya | Chief Expert | Prime Ministers Office |
| 2 | Ato Yalew Abate | Regional State Executive Committee Member | Amhara Region |
| 3 | Ato Yohannes Mekonnen | State Governor's Office Economic Sector Head | " " |
| 4 | Ato Tewodros Bekafa | State Governor's Office Head of Planning Bureau | " " |
| 5 | Ato Wuletaw H/Mariam | Bureau Head of DPPC | " " |
| 6 | Dr. Belay Demissie | Bureau Head of Agriculture | " " |
| 7 | Ato Endalkachew Assefa | | Planning Bureau – Awassa |
| 8 | Ato Feleke Tadesse | | " " " |
| 9 | Ato Mesfin Kurub | | Agricultural Bureau |
| 10 | Ato Assefa Amaldessi | | " " |
| 11 | Ato Haile Yohannes | Bureau of Planning, Head | Tigray Region |
| 12 | Ato Mengistu Araya | Bureau of Planning | Tigray Region |
| 13 | Ato Zenebe | SEART | Tigray Region |
| 14 | Ato Getachew | SEART | Tigray Region |
| 15 | Mr. Steven Anderson | Project Officer | WFP |
| 16 | Ato Arega yirga | Consultant | WFP |
| 17 | Ato Yonis Berkele | Partnership Coordinator | CARE Ethiopia |
| 18 | Ato Kassaye Derseh | Monitoring & Evaluation Food Information unitHead | CARE Ethiopia |
| 19 | Ms. Abi Masefield | Social Sector Programme Coordinator | CISP |
| 20 | Mr. Fabio Bedini | Food Security Expert | CISP |
| 21 | Ato Asefa Addissu | Monitoring & Evaluation Officer | CISP |
| 22 | W/t. Saba Tesfaye | PM&E Officer | CONCERN |
| 23 | Col. Alemayehu Haddis | Deputy Country Representative | German Agro Action |
| 24 | Mr. Ken Sorensen | Relief Advisor | Lutheran World Federation |
| 25 | Ato Wakjira Guta | Relief Coordinator | Mekane yesus |
| 26 | Ato Dereje Wordofa | Technical Policy Planning Director | SCF-UK |
| 27 | Ato Akalewold Shewakena | Deputy Relief Operation Manager | SCF-UK |
| 28 | Ato Gizaw Zewdu | National Project Coordinator | SCF-UK |
| 29 | Mr. George Abalu | Principle Regional Advisor for Food Security | UNECA |
| 30 | Ato Berhane W/Tensai | Head of Fundraising | REST |
| 31 | Hazel Godfrey | Deputy Country Director | SOS Sahel |
| 32 | Afewerk Amare | Consultant | Independent |
| 33 | Ato Girma W/Gabriel | Manpower Planning Head | Ethiopian Roads Authority |
| 34 | Ato Abebaw Feleke | Deputy National Authorizing Officer | MEDAC |
| 35 | Ato Belachew Beyene | Senior Expert to the National Authorizing Officer | MEDAC |
| 36 | Ato Beyene Haile | Food Security Unit Head | MEDAC |
| 37 | Ato Debebe | Senior Expert on Food Security | MEDAC |
| 38 | Mr. Karl Harbo | Head of Delegation | EC Delegation to Ethiopia |
| 39 | Mr. Franco Conzato | Economic Advisor | EC Delegation to Ethiopia |
| 40 | Mr. Hansjörg Neun | Coordinator | EC/LFSU |
| 41 | Mr. Peter Middlebrook | EGS Expert | EC/LFSU |
| 42 | Mr. Pascal Joannes | Grain Marketing Development Expert | EC/LFSU |
| 43 | Mr. Thomas Balivet | NGO Coordinator | EC/LFSU |
| 44 | Ato Teferi Bekele | Consultant | Independent |
| 45 | Ato Tamene Tefera | Project Formulation Division Head | Ministry of Water Resources |
| 46 | Mr. Chris McDowell | Aid Secretary | British Embassy Aid Section |
| 47 | Mr. Doug Clements | Food Security Advisor | CIDA |
| 48 | Arega Yirsa | Deputy Country Representative | WFP |
| 49 | Aregawi Hagos | Reporter | OXFAM |
| 50 | Girma Aberra | Expert | The Monitor |
| 51 | Girma Mengist | Team Leader | MEDAC |
| 52 | Haile Jara | | RRA |
| 53 | Zewde Biratu | General Manager (Moderator) | Consultant |
| 54 | Chokol Kidane | Economic Advisor | Tigray Regional Council |
| 55 | Teklewoini Aseffa | REST | Executive Director |
| 56 | Solomon Enqui | Social Advisor | Tigray Regional Council |
| 57 | Haile Yohannes | Head | BoPED |
| 58 | Luel Kahsay | Commissioner | SEART |
| 59 | Berhane Hailu | Head | BoANR |

| | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 60 | Fissema Girmay | Planning Department | REST |
| 61 | Alemseged Ayalneh | Planning | BoANR |
| 62 | Gebru Teka | Planning | BoANR |
| 63 | Tesfay Hagos | Planning | BoANR |
| 64 | Araya Tesfay | Administrator | Eastern Zone |
| 65 | Zenebe A | Planning Head | SEART |
| 66 | Gebremedin Gebru | Planning Department | TDA |
| 67 | Fissahaye Alemayoh | Head | BOLSA |
| 68 | Mengistu Araya | EGS Expert | BoPED |
| 69 | Wondimu Golla | Planning | BoPED |
| 70 | Kidane Gebremariam | Planning | BoPED |
| 71 | Mullugeta Hiluf | Logistics | BoPED |
| 72 | Teklehaimanot W/Micheal | Deputy Commissioner | DPPB |
| 73 | Gezachew Gebru | Presidential Advisor | Regional Council |
| 74 | Tesfay | Agricultural Development Department | BoA |
| 75 | Getnet Dante | Administrator | S/W Zone Administration |
| 76 | Tesfaye Muhiye | Planning Department | S/W Admin BOPED |
| 77 | Solomon Tefera | Planning Department | S/Gondar Planning |
| 78 | Aderaw Dagnew | Deputy Comissioner | DPPC |
| 79 | Kifle Yohannes Temere | Relief Department | " " " |
| 80 | Ayea Mulu | Planning | BoA |
| 81 | Ahmed Salih | General Manager | RRA |
| 82 | Mulgete Yigzau | Planning Department | N/Gondar Planning |
| 83 | Bizrat Alemu | Planning | CO-SAERAR |
| 84 | Awoke Feyisa | Administrator | S/Gondar |
| 85 | Mulugeta Seid | Commissioner | SAERAR |
| 86 | Seid Yassin | Administrator | N/Wollo Administration |
| 87 | Abdulsemed Mohammed | Administrator | " " " |
| 88 | Desta Kidane | | Consultant |

Appendix 4 General Questionnaire for Semi-structured Interviews

-
- Qu. 1 *Why did the GoE decide to establish the NPDPM?*
- Qu. 2 *Which parties were responsible for drawing up the details of the NPDPM?*
- Qu. 3 *What were the critical issues?*
- Qu. 4 *How important are the NPDPM and EGS Guidelines for achieving national development objectives?*
- Qu. 5 *Do you think regions are familiar with the policy environment for the NPDPM and EGS Guideline?*
- Qu. 6 *How is the NPDPM coordinated with the other major policies and strategies such as the National Food Security Strategy (NFSS) (1996) and Regional and National Food Security Programmes (NFSP)?*
- Qu. 7 *How is the policy coordinated with other sectors such as agriculture, population, land policies etc.?*
- Qu. 8 *Under the EGS Guideline each concerned department or agency was requested to draw up internal procedures for EGS. Why has this not been done and what is the impact?*
- Qu. 9 *Would you describe the policy, and its legal basis, as voluntary or mandatory in its implementation?*
- Qu. 10 *Could the EGS programme benefit from a more supportive legal environment (decrees, acts, orders etc)?*
- Qu. 11 *What is the relationship between the NPDPM and the national and regional FSS and FSP?*
- Qu. 12 *Under the Maharashtra programme the legal environment is very comprehensive (wage rates, workers equity, funding etc.). What can the Ethiopian EGS programme learn from the Indian experience?*
- Qu. 13 *How will the policy evolve?*
- Qu. 14 *Do you think the NPDPM needs to be amended in the light of recent experience? If so which areas?*
- Qu. 15 *Is there a GoE policy on workers equity and rights?*
- Qu. 16 *What are the main funding and resource issues as you see them? Could these be resolved through the planning of a safety net programme that targetes chronic vulnerability?*
- Qu. 17 *What is the cost of implementation of the NPDPM?*
- Qu. 18 *What would be you reaction to introducing EGS on a self targeted cash for work basis?*
- Qu. 19 *Do you have any other issues you would like to discuss?*
-

- Qu. 1 *If EGS is the centre of the policy why did it take over 4 years to establish a federal EGS Guideline?*
- Qu. 2 *Which regions were involved in drawing up the EGS Guideline?*
- Qu. 3 *How much did the study tour to the India EGS influence the final EGS Guideline?*
- Qu. 4 *How does the guideline assist in the implementation of the DDPM?*
- Qu. 5 *What was your first impression of the EGS Guideline?*
- Qu. 6 *Has this impression changed over time?*
- Qu. 7 *How much ownership does your organisation feel over the EGS Guideline*
- Qu. 8 *What, in your opinion, is the greatest problem faced by your organisation in implementing the policy and EGS Guidelines?*
- Qu. 9 *What are the two major objectives of EGS?*
- Qu. 10 *Is it the relief or development objective which is given most attention?*
- Qu. 11 *Is EGS different from FFW/FFR/FFD or ESNB?*
- Qu. 12 *How is it different?*
- Qu. 13 *Is the Guideline relevant for your organisation?*
- Qu. 14 *If so how? If not, why not?*
- Qu. 15 *Can your organisation implement the EGS Guideline as it is or do changes need to be made?*
- Qu. 16 *What changes or amendments?*
-

| | |
|--------|---|
| Qu. 17 | <i>Is the region free to discard the Guidelines and prepare its own policy/strategy and Guidelines?</i> |
| Qu. 18 | <i>What are the basic principles of the Ethiopian EGS in accordance with the EGS Guideline.</i> |
| Qu. 19 | <i>What kind of works should be taken up?</i> |
| Qu. 20 | <i>Who prepares the Contingency Plan and how detailed is it?</i> |
| Qu. 21 | <i>Who prepares shelf projects? Is it done in practice?</i> |
| Qu. 22 | <i>Which is the most appropriate form of payment - cash or food?</i> |
| Qu.23 | <i>Which is the most appropriate form of targeting - administrative or self?</i> |
| Qu. 24 | <i>What is the major implementation constraint?</i> |
| Qu. 25 | <i>Who does the monitoring and evaluation of EGS projects?</i> |
| Qu. 26 | <i>What is the present wage payment policy and is it appropriate?</i> |
| Qu. 27 | <i>What are the long term benefits (assets) of the EGS intervention?</i> |
| Qu. 28 | <i>What is the volume of funding (\$) for your EGS programme annually?</i> |
| Qu. 29 | <i>Do you have any other issues you would like to discuss?</i> |

| | |
|-------|---|
| Qu. 1 | <i>Who is responsible for coordinating the EGS at a federal, regional, zonal, Woreda and community level?</i> |
| Qu. 2 | <i>Which organisation do you think is the most important or influential?</i> |
| Qu. 3 | <i>What is the funding relationship between the DPPC and BoA for example?</i> |
| Qu. 4 | <i>Are there any financial issues in this relationship that need to be further explored?</i> |
| Qu. 5 | <i>On a scale of 1 to 10 how would you rate the involvement of the community in planning EGS programmes.</i> |
| Qu. 6 | <i>What are the differences between woreda, zonal and regional responsibilities?</i> |
| Qu. 7 | <i>Which organisations prepare the contingency plans?</i> |

Appendix 5 Tigrai Food Security Administrative Structure

The involvement and share of responsibilities of each stakeholder is as follows:

Tabia Food Security Steering Committees

- a) Participate in area selection;
- b) Mobilize communities to participate in SWC, rural road construction and other labour intensive activities;
- c) Suggest and implement utilization guidelines;
- d) Distribute conserved land /treated gullies to beneficiaries for productive uses;
- e) Identify and screen beneficiaries for agricultural development, credit services, improved energy etc.;
- f) prioritise areas for water resource development;
- g) Ensure that water points are well guarded and maintained by beneficiaries;
- h) Determine user charges, if any;
- i) Prioritise roads for construction;
- j) Facilitate and ensure free labour contribution for SWC, water points development, roads and the like.

Woreda Food Security Steering Committees

- a) oversee the overall implementation , management and coordination of the program in their respective Woreda;
- b) Coordinates the works of the Woreda line offices;
- c) Mobilize Tabia Food Security Steering Committee, create awareness to them;
- d) Actively participate in the mobilization of the communities for CFW/FFW works and controls the day to day activities;
- e) Ensures the contribution of free labour;
- f) Facilitates the preparation of annual work plans;
- g) Follow up and evaluate the implementation of the project in their respective Woredas;
- h) Review and approve report received from tabia food security steering committee and LDS;
- i) Submit reports to the zonal steering committee through the Woreda food security desk.

Woreda Food Security Desk

- a) Responsible for the over all day to day implementation and follow up of the project ;
- b) Coordinators the activities of the Woreda line departments;
- c) Integrates the project plan with on going programs of government and none government organizations so as to avoid duplications and wasting;
- d) Regularly monitor project implementation and report to the zonal IFSP desk and evaluate the project in cooperation with the Woreda LDS;
- e) Ensures the disbursement of budget of the project to implementing bodies;
- f) Conduct regular financial reporting.

Zonal and Regional Food Security Desks

- a) In cooperation with line departments and bureaus provide technical backup to the Woreda desk and offices in project planning, monitoring and reporting;
- b) Undertakes regular follow –up and supervision of project activities;
- c) Facilitate material procurement at regional and national level;
- d) Prepare and disseminate periodic progress reports to relevant bodies at regional and national level;
- e) Create awareness on the project to concerned stakeholders;
- f) Actively participate in the monitoring and evaluation of the project;
- g) Facilitate the hand over of the project to the respective stakeholders after completion;
- h) Follow –up resource utilization by the parties involved

Zonal and regional Food Security Committees

- a) Direct and supervise the projects in both Woredas;
- b) Review and approves annual work plans and allocation of resources;
- c) Review and approve quarterly , six monthly and annual reports of the projects;
- d) Submit reports to the national food security unit (MEDaC) and EU/LFSU through the regional food security desk.

Woreda Agricultural office

- a) participate in the selection of the watershed areas;
- b) participate in the preparation of watershed plans;
- c) prioritise the activities to be performed in collaboration with tabia food security steering committees and Woreda food security desk;
- d) Facilitate and follow the sustainable (friendly) use of the conserved areas;
- e) Identify and screen beneficiary's in cooperation with Tabia Food Security Committees;
- f) Technically assist screened beneficiaries in agricultural development;
- g) Evaluate and appraise the introduction of new techniques , seeds (Fruit + horticulture) materials etc.

Zonal and Regional Bureau of Agriculture

- a) Prepare watershed plan;
- b) Undertake feasibility study;
- c) Identify and propose prominent watershed development packages;
- d) Participate in conduct of design/feasibility study of irrigation schemes;
- e) Provide technical assistance in the construction , operation and maintenance of the irrigation schemes;
- f) provide all technical support to undertake watershed development activities;
- g) prepare soil and water conservation and other extension manuals;
- h) conduct training to Woreda experts, DAS and farmers;
- i) Formulate laws and regulations on utilization of conserved areas;
- j) Evaluate and appraise the introduction of new technologies, seeds, materials etc.

Implementation Arrangements

As a multisectoral integrated approach, IFSP is being executed by the various sector agencies and the community. However, in order to effectively implement the various activities of the program, it has been found essential to establish a coordinating organ at the various levels (Region, Zone, Woreda and Tabia). Hence, the program has the following organs:

- a) Regional Steering Committee (RSC)
- b) Zonal Steering Committee (ZSC)
- c) Woreda Steering Committee (WSC)
- d) Tabia Food Security Committee (TFSC)
- e) Regional Food Security Desk (RFSD)
- f) Zonal Food Security Desk (ZFSD)
- g) Woreda Food Security Desk (WFSD)
- h) Sector FSP Focal persons
- i) Community Facilitators

Regional Steering Committee (RSC)

Regional RSC is the highest policy making body of the program. It guides and supervises the overall administration and operation of the program. Policy issues, funding decisions and allocations and issues of program coordination are fully handled by this body.

More specifically, the mandates of the Regional Steering Committees are as follows:

- ◆ Approves annual work plan and budget of the program,
- ◆ Decides on all sub-project proposals recommended by the RFSD and the ZSC,
- ◆ Reviews the performance of the IFSP with the set objectives of the program,
- ◆ Facilitates the establishment and strengthening of Zonal, Woreda and Tabia steering committee,
- ◆ Recommends policies which are helpful to the effective implementation of the program,
- ◆ Decides on other policy matters concerning the program.

Members

All relevant sectors are represented in the Regional Steering Committee. For ease of coordination, the RSC is sub-divided in to sub-committees of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Economic Development, Social Services and Associations. Members of the sub-committees is shown on Table 1 below. Members of the regional steering committees are:

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Regional president or his representative | Chairman |
| 2. Bureau of Agriculture & Natural Resources | Member |
| 3. Economic Development Sectors Sub-committee | " |
| 4. Social Services Sub-committee | " |
| 5. Regional Youth, Women & farmers Association | " |
| 6. sub-committee | " |
| 7. Relief Society of Tigray | " |
| 8. Tigray Development Association | " |
| 9. Bureau of Trade and Industry | " |
| 10. Bureau of Disaster Prevention and Preparedness | " |
| 11. Bureau of Planning and Economic Development | " |
| 12. Integrated Food Security Program | Secretary |

Table 1 Members and Chairpersons of the sub-committees

| S.N | Sub-Committee | Members | Chaired |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Agriculture & Natural Resources | -BOANR, IAR, SAERT & MUC | BoANR |
| 2. | Economic Development | -Rural Roads & Bureau of Min. & Eng, coops | Economic Development sector |
| 3. | Social Services | -BH, BE & BSAffairs | Social Development sector |
| 4. | Regional Associations | -Women, Youth and Farmers associations | Women's Association |

Periodic Meeting

The RSC meets ones every two months. During this regular meeting, the RSC is expected to review the progress of the program and give future directions in intervention and coordination arrangements and pass resolutions that will have policy implications. Projects requested by communities, submitted by the zonal steering committees and recommended by RFSD are also reviewed and approved by the committee in this regular meeting.

Zonal Steering Committee (ZSC)

The Zonal Steering Committee is designated by the zonal administration. Like that of the RSC, it has chairperson and secretary. It in general guides, coordinates and follows the formulation and implementation of the food security program with in the zone. Specific duties of the committee are:

- ◆ Reviews and approves zonal work plan submits it to the regional steering committee,
- ◆ Reviews, priorities, approves and submits food security projects to RSC through the RFSD,

- ◆ Reviews and approves quarterly, semi-annual and annual reports of the zonal food security program and submits it to the RSC through the RFSD,
- ◆ Recommends programs of zonal significance for inclusion in RFSD,
- ◆ Facilitates linkage among the different line bureaus in the zone for effective implementation of the program.

Members

Members of the Zonal Steering Committee are:

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| ◆ Chairperson of the Zone or his/her representative | Chair person |
| ◆ Head, Department of planning and Economic Development | Member |
| ◆ Head, Department of Agriculture | " |
| ◆ Head, Department of Education | " |
| ◆ Head, Department of Health | " |
| ◆ Head, Department of Disaster Prevention and Preparedness | " |
| ◆ Department of Water Resource Mining and Energy | " |
| ◆ Local NGO's | " |
| ◆ Local Organization | " |
| ◆ Zonal FSD head | Secretary |

Meetings

The zonal Steering Committee meets once a month. The Zonal FSD should prepare and present progress reports of zonal IFSP activities. The committee reviews Zonal IFSP progress reports, identifies weak points and provide future directions to be followed. Minutes of the meetings is submitted to the RSC through the RFSD.

Supervision

The Committee shall be supervised by the RSC.

Woreda Steering Committees

The Woreda Steering Committee (WSC) is fully responsible for the over all management of the program with in the Woreda. It guides, follows, monitors, and coordinates the implementation of Woreda IFSP. It specifically have the following duties:

- ◆ Oversees the over all implementation of food security program in the Woreda,
- ◆ Prioritizes and submits project ideas to the Zonal Steering Committees through the Zonal IFSP coordinator,
- ◆ Facilitates coordination among stakeholders that participate in the IFSP with in the Woreda,
- ◆ In cooperation with the Woreda FSD, prepares annual work plan and submits to the Zonal Steering Committee and ZFSD,
- ◆ Monitors and evaluates the implementation of Woreda food security programs,

Members

Members of the committee are:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| ◆ Woreda Council Chair-person | Chairman |
| ◆ Woreda Agriculture Office | Member |
| ◆ Woreda Health Office | " |
| ◆ Woreda Education Office | " |

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| ◆ Woreda Water Resource, Mining and Energy | " |
| ◆ Local NGO's | " |
| ◆ Local Organizations | " |
| ◆ Woreda FSD head | Secretary |

Meeting

The Woreda Steering Committee meets once every two weeks to accomplish the aforementioned activities.

Supervision

The Woreda Steering Committee is supervised by the Zonal Steering Committee.

Tabia Food Security Committee (TSC)

The Tabia Food Security Committee is responsible for the overall guidance and management of IFSP activities within the tabia. Specific duties of the Committee are:

- ◆ Carry-out need assessment in their localities,
- ◆ Prioritize needs and develop project proposals,
- ◆ Fill project proposal format (request form) for ideas that meet local community needs,
- ◆ Coordinate targeting of the IFSP beneficiaries,
- ◆ Drawing up and signing the implementation of a project with concerned bodies,
- ◆ Coordinate the implementation of tabia IFSP,
- ◆ Mobilize and Coordinate local support in the implementation of projects,
- ◆ Monitor the implementation of IFSP projects within the tabia,
- ◆ Evaluate the achievements of tabia IFSP and reports to the Woreda steering committee,
- ◆ Handing over projects and following the proper use of completed projects.

Members

Members of the committee are:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| ◆ Baito Chair Person | Chair Person |
| ◆ Tabia Secretary | Members |
| ◆ Development agent | " |
| ◆ School Director | " |
| ◆ Women's Association | " |
| ◆ Youth Association | " |
| ◆ Local Organizations | " |
| ◆ IFSP Community Facilitator | Secretary |

To ensure the proper implementation of IFSP projects, the TFSC can establish project committees for each project. This body can oversee the execution of respective projects on behalf of the communities, which they represent.

Meetings

The TFSC meets more frequently than the Regional, Zonal and Woreda steering Committees. It at least meets once every week.

Supervision

The activities of TFSC are supervised by the WSC.

Appendix 6 Sample Matrices

Matrix: Comparative Analysis Of The Maharashtran And Ethiopian EGS

Name: _____

Position: _____

Organisation: _____

| Characteristic | Maharashtra | Ethiopia | Principle Difference(s) |
|--|-------------|----------|-------------------------|
| Poverty Line/Vulnerability Demarcation | | | |
| Legal and Policy Environments | | | |
| EGS Objectives for Poverty Alleviation | | | |
| Organisational Structures | | | |
| EGS Resources and Funding | | | |
| Status of EGS Projects | | | |
| Linking Relief to Development | | | |
| Staffing Procedures | | | |
| Resource Allocation Procedures | | | |
| Targeting and Registration Procedures | | | |
| Shelf Projects and Contingency Plans | | | |
| Sectors and Activities | | | |
| Payment Options (FFW/CFW) | | | |
| Workers Equity On Site Work Facilities | | | |
| Entitlement Protection and Enhancement | | | |
| Monitoring and Vigilance | | | |

* Important to define key points only ? = Not enough information to make comparison

Matrix: Case Order Descriptive Meta-Matrix: Achievement of NPDPM Objectives

Name: _____ Position: _____ Organisation: _____

| Objective | Rating | Comments |
|--|----------------------------------|---|
| 2. No human life shall perish for want of assistance in time of disaster; | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 3. Adequate income shall be ensured to disaster affected households through relief programmes to give them access to food and other basic necessities; | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 4. The quality of life in the affected areas shall be protected from deterioration on account of disaster | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 5. Relief effort shall reinforce the capabilities of the affected areas and promote self-reliance; | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 6. Contribution to sustainable economic growth and development shall be given due emphasis in all relief efforts; | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 7. The asset and economic fabric of the affected areas shall be preserved to enable speedy post-disaster recovery; | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 8. Provision of relief shall protect and safeguard human dignity and reinforce the social determination for development; | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 9. Disaster prevention programmes shall be given due emphasis in all spheres if dev't endeavours; | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 10. All endeavours in relief programmes shall be geared to eliminate the root causes of vulnerability to disasters; and, | <input type="radio"/> | |
| 11. Best use of natural resource endowment of the areas shall be promoted. | <input type="radio"/> | |
| High Impact <input checked="" type="radio"/> | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | <input checked="" type="radio"/> Impact |
| Moderate Impact <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> Impact |
| | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> Impact |

Matrix: Conceptually Clustering: Conclusion and Recommendation Format

| Characteristic | Conclusion | Recommendations | | |
|--|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | Policy and Planning | Implementation Procedures | Management and Staffing |
| Poverty Line/Vulnerability Demarcation | | | | |
| Legal and Policy Environments | | | | |
| EGS Objectives for Poverty Alleviation | | | | |
| Organisational Structures | | | | |
| EGS Resources and Funding | | | | |
| Status of EGS Projects | | | | |
| Linking Relief to Development | | | | |
| Staffing Procedures | | | | |
| Resource Allocation Procedures | | | | |
| Targeting and Registration Procedures | | | | |
| Shelf Projects and Contingency Plans | | | | |
| Sectors and Activities | | | | |
| Payment Options (FFW/CFW) | | | | |
| Workers Equity On Site Work Facilities | | | | |
| Entitlement Protection and Enhancement | | | | |
| Monitoring and Vigilance | | | | |

Matrix: Meta ZOPP/LFA Matrix for the EGS

| INTERVENTION LOGIC | OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS (OVIS) | MEANS OF VERIFICATION (MOV) | IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS |
|--------------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| OVERALL GOAL | | | |
| PURPOSE | | | |
| RESULTS | | | |
| ACTIVITIES | | | |
| | MEANS | COSTS | PRE CONDITIONS |

Content-Analytic Summary Tables: Change Characteristics for EGS

Name: _____

Position: _____

Organisation: _____

| Change Characteristic | TRANSITORY CHANGES | | DURABLE CHANGES | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | Within the Innovation | In the Organisation | Within the Innovation | In the Organisation |
| Policy and Legal Environment | | | | |
| NPDPM and EGS Guidelines | | | | |
| Organisational Structures | | | | |
| Programme Efficiency and Effectiveness | | | | |
| Impact on "short Term Needs | | | | |
| Impact on Long term Entitlements | | | | |
| Sustainability | | | | |

Clustered Summary Table: Problems Stemming from NPDPM/EGS Policy

Name: _____ Position: _____ Organisation: _____

| Characteristic | Principle Problem | Illustrated Example |
|--|-------------------|---------------------|
| Poverty Line/Vulnerability Demarcation | | |
| Legal and Policy Environments | | |
| EGS Objectives for Poverty Alleviation | | |
| Organisational Structures | | |
| EGS Resources and Funding | | |
| Status of EGS Projects | | |
| Linking Relief to Development | | |
| Staffing Procedures | | |
| Resource Allocation Procedures | | |
| Targeting and Registration Procedures | | |
| Shelf Projects and Contingency Plans | | |
| Sectors and Activities | | |
| Payment Options (FFW/CFW) | | |
| Workers Equity On Site Work Facilities | | |
| Entitlement Protection and Enhancement | | |
| Monitoring and Vigilance | | |

Quantitative Data Set Table: Understanding of Organisational Responsibilities for EGS

Name: _____

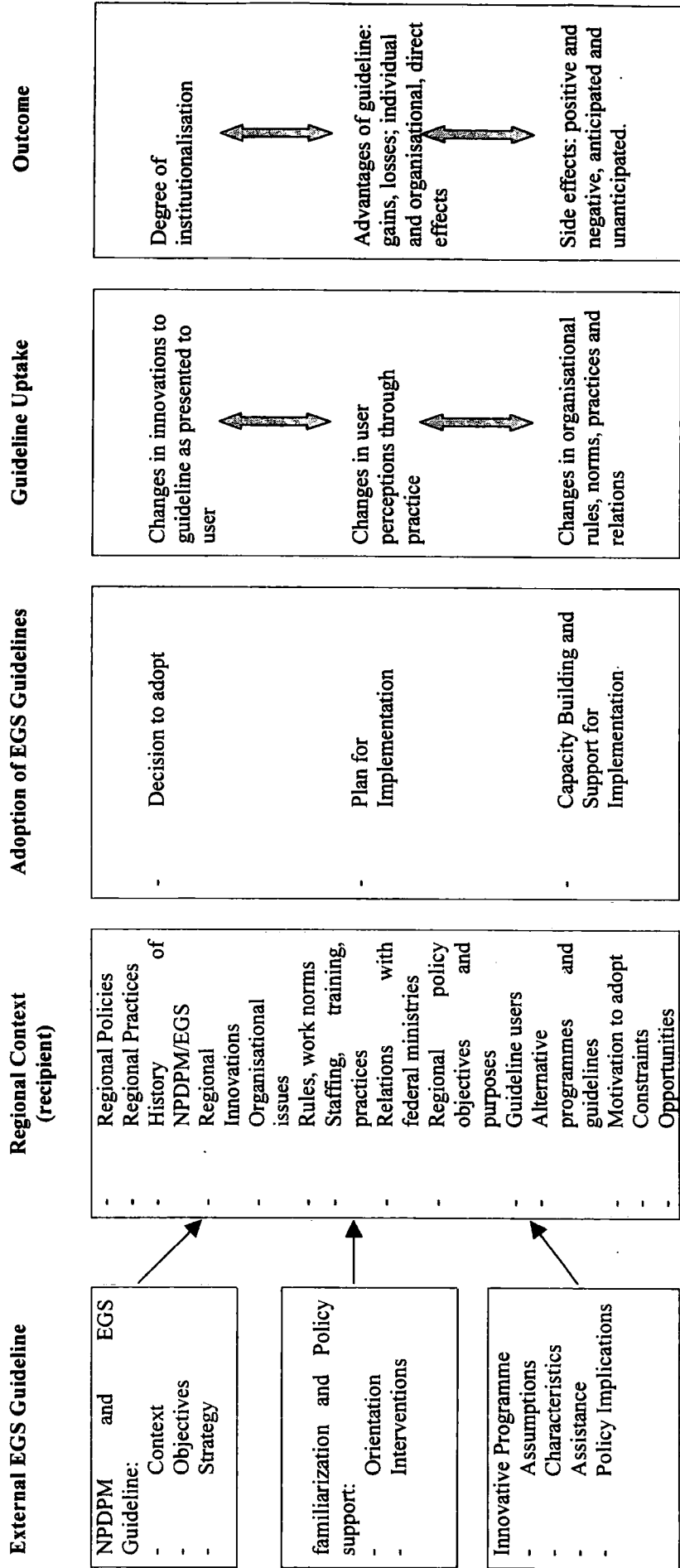
Position: _____

Organisation: _____

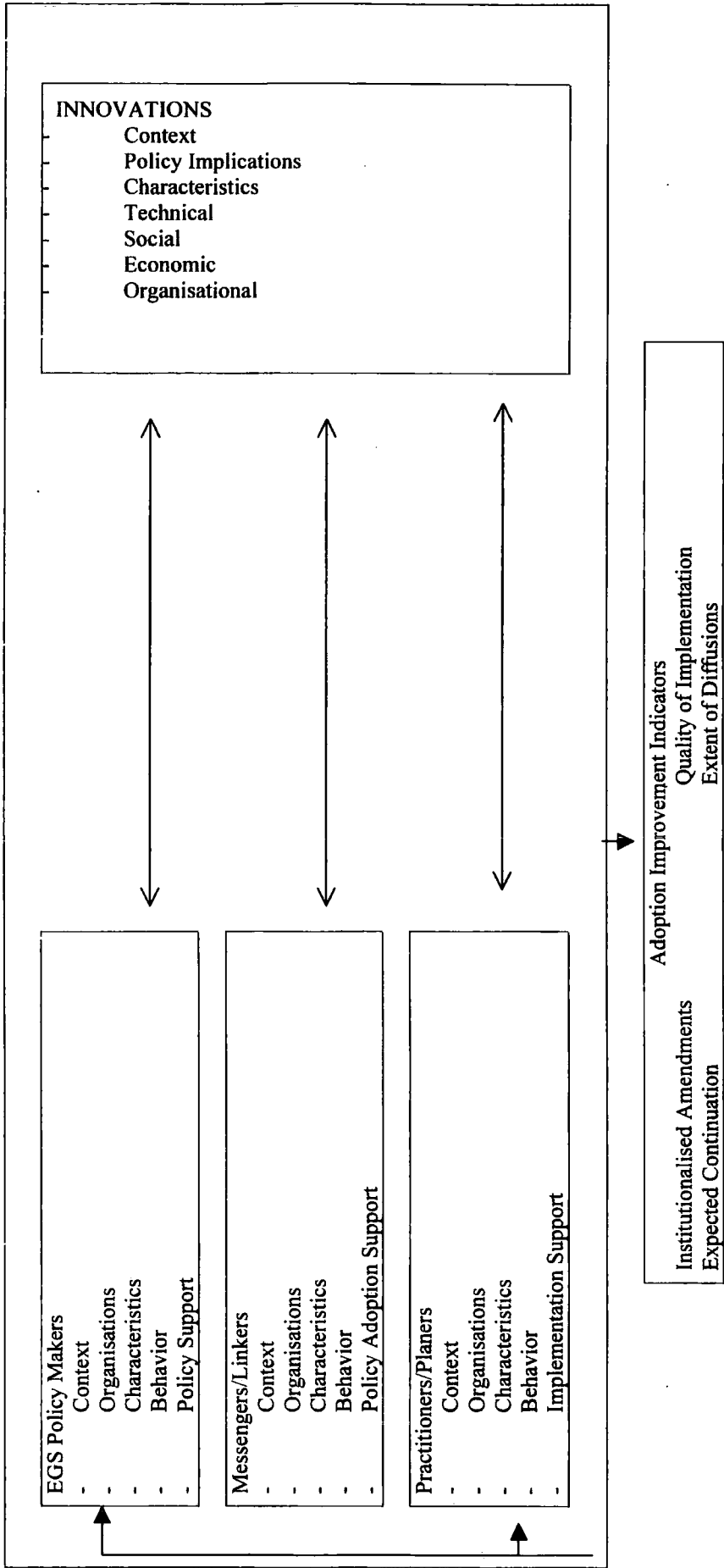
| EGS Activity | Community | Woreda DPPC | Woreda Line Department | NGO | Grassroots Level NGO | Zonal DPPC Committee | Zonal DPPD | Zonal Sectoral Line Department | Regional DPPC Committee | Regional DPPB | Regional Sectoral Bureaus | Federal DPPC |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------|-----|----------------------|----------------------|------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Releases National Relief Resources | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approves Regional EGS/RP | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocates Regional Resources | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reviews Zonal plans/prepares RP | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approves Zonal EGS/RP | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reviews Woreda plans | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Compiles Zonal EGS/RP | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approves Woreda EGS/RP | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocates Woreda Resources for RP | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Compiles Woreda RP | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Implements EGS | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Prepares EGS Proposals | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Compiles Annual Contingency Plan | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Elaborates/Updates shelf projects | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Generates Project Ideas | | | | | | | | | | | | |

RP = Relief Plan

Conceptual Framework: Framework For Analysis of Uptake of EGS Guidelines



Conceptual Framework for Constraints in Adoption of Policy Innovations



Appendix 7

Causal Problem Chain Analysis for EGS

Name: _____

Position: _____

Organisation: _____

| Problem | Cause | Primary Effect | Secondary Effect | Impact |
|---|-------|----------------|------------------|--------|
| Poor integration of different food security related policies | → | → | → | → |
| Poor policy orientation at regional, zonal and woreda levels on NPDPM and EGS in particular | | | | |
| Delay in publication and dissemination of national EGS Guidelines | | | | |
| Regional Contingency Planning capacity needs to be strengthened | | | | |

Appendix 8 Results of Questionnaire for GoE Officials

| Questions | YES (%) | NO (%) | Not Answered | YES (%) | No (%) | Total (%) | Comments |
|--|---------|--------|--------------|---------|--------|-----------|--|
| Have you read the National Policy for Disaster Prevention and Management | 19 | 12 | 0 | 61.29 | 38.71 | 100.00 | |
| Do you think the NPDPM is an appropriate policy for Ethiopia | 15 | 2 | 13 | 48.39 | 6.95 | 54.84 | |
| If you have not read the directives why not | | | | | | | Not been exposed to it. No info about it. No access. No legal environment policy |
| Is there high pressure to adopt the NPDPM | 6 | 16 | 9 | 19.35 | 51.61 | 70.97 | |
| Is there low pressure to adopt the NPDPM | 16 | 6 | 9 | 51.61 | 19.35 | 70.97 | |
| Have you read the National Disaster Directives of 1993 | 12 | 15 | 4 | 38.71 | 48.39 | 87.10 | |
| If yes do you think that the Directives are appropriate for Ethiopia | 10 | 1 | 1 | 32.26 | 3.23 | 35.48 | |
| If you have not read the Directives why not | | | | | | | Not been exposed to it. No awareness about its existence. Shortage of time |
| Have you read the Federal Food Security Strategy | 26 | 5 | 0 | 83.87 | 16.13 | 100.00 | |
| If yes do you think that the Strategy is appropriate for Ethiopia | 23 | 3 | 5 | 74.19 | 9.68 | 83.87 | |
| If you have not read the Strategy why not | | | | | | | Not been exposed to it. No access. Because is not a policy |
| Have you read the 1997 Federal EGS Guidelines | 17 | 2 | 12 | 54.84 | 6.45 | 61.29 | |
| If yes do you think that the Guideline is appropriate for Ethiopia | 15 | 2 | 0 | 43.39 | 6.45 | 54.84 | |
| If you have not read the Guideline why not | | | | | | | Not been exposed to it. No info about it |
| Do you think the Guideline should be adapted by the regions | 20 | 0 | 11 | 64.52 | 0.00 | 64.52 | |
| Have you read the National Food Security Programme Documents | 17 | 13 | 1 | 54.84 | 41.94 | 96.77 | |
| If yes do you think that the Programme is appropriate for | 14 | | 2 | 45.16 | 3.23 | 48.39 | |

[illegible]

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|---|-------|-------|-------|
| Is your preference for Self Targeting | 13 | 13 | 5 | 41.94 | 41.94 | 83.87 |
| Do you have sufficient experience of self targeting to make this judgement | 15 | 14 | 2 | 48.39 | 45.16 | 93.55 |
| Do you have sufficient experience of community targeting to make this judgement | 20 | 3 | 3 | 63.52 | 9.68 | 73.19 |
| Would it be possible to adopt self targeting at the present time | 8 | 21 | 2 | 25.81 | 67.74 | 93.55 |
| Are present relief resources sufficient for self targeting | 3 | 24 | 4 | 9.68 | 77.42 | 87.10 |

What is the major problem with self targeting

What is the major problem with community targeting

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|-------|-------|--|
| Should the landless be targeted as the principle EGS group | 21 | 7 | 3 | 22.38 | 90.32 | |
| Is your preference for food for work | 5 | 19 | 7 | 61.29 | 77.42 | |
| Is your preference for cash for work | 19 | 5 | 7 | 18.15 | 77.42 | |
| Do you have experience of cash for work | 16 | 14 | 1 | 25.16 | 96.77 | |
| Do you have experience of food for work | 24 | 6 | 1 | 19.55 | 96.77 | |
| Would cash have an impact (positive or negative) on local grain market | 23 | 0 | 8 | 0.06 | 74.19 | |
| Does Food aid create dependency | 20 | 6 | 5 | 19.33 | 87.87 | |
| Does cash create dependency | 7 | 17 | 7 | 54.84 | 77.42 | |
| Would cash incomes be spent by men on non nutritional items | 9 | 10 | 12 | 39.28 | 60.29 | |
| Should the wage payment of 3 Kg per person/day be increased for EGS work | 10 | 12 | 9 | 38.7 | 70.07 | |
| Should the Relief wage be above the local agricultural wage | 3 | 24 | 5 | 17.42 | 87.10 | |
| If self targeting were used would a below market wage create problems | 6 | 19 | 6 | 51.39 | 80.65 | |
| Are the organisational arrangements for the implementation of EGS clearly known | 6 | 22 | 3 | 40.97 | 90.32 | |
| Could be there be stronger linkage between DPPC and line departments | 17 | 12 | 2 | 38.7 | 93.53 | |
| Is the BoA sufficiently involved in implementation of EGS | 5 | 22 | 4 | 40.97 | 87.10 | |
| Is the Rural Roads Authority sufficiently involved in implementation of EGS | 3 | 22 | 6 | 70.97 | 80.65 | |
| Is BoPED involved in planning EGS | 8 | 18 | 5 | 38.06 | 83.87 | |

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|--------|--------|
| Should the Bureau of Social and Labour Affairs be involved in EGS | 21 | 6 | 4 | 19.35 | 87.10 |
| Should the planning process for EGS be strengthened | 29 | 0 | 2 | 0.00 | 93.55 |
| Should the new food security units coordinate the planning EGS | 25 | 3 | 3 | 59.68 | 90.32 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Roads | 28 | 2 | 0 | 6.45 | 96.27 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Irrigation | 27 | 4 | 0 | 12.90 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on SWC | 27 | 4 | 0 | 12.90 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Horticulture | 18 | 13 | 0 | 41.94 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Percolation Tanks | 21 | 10 | 0 | 37.26 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Forestry | 28 | 3 | 0 | 0.68 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Watershed Development | 26 | 5 | 0 | 16.13 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Water Supply | 19 | 12 | 0 | 138.71 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on the Social Sector | 11 | 20 | 0 | 64.52 | 100.00 |
| Should EGS intervention be focused on Other Activities | 8 | 23 | 0 | 74.19 | 100.00 |
| Should the watershed be taken as the basic unit of rural development in Ethiopia | 24 | 6 | 1 | 19.35 | 96.77 |
| Should EGS also be used to implement inter regional road network | 13 | 15 | 3 | 18.19 | 90.32 |
| Should EGS projects focus on providing wells on private land in command areas | 18 | 8 | 5 | 25.81 | 83.87 |
| Do you think that EGS is a relevant programme for Ethiopia | 29 | 0 | 2 | 0.00 | 93.55 |
| Has the EGS programme been effective in your region | 4 | 13 | 14 | 41.94 | 90.32 |
| Could EGS play a vital role in ground water extraction | 25 | 3 | 3 | 59.68 | 90.32 |
| Should the drawing up of shelf projects for EGS be mandatory for line departments | 29 | 1 | 1 | 0.23 | 96.77 |
| Is impact monitoring for EGS ever conducted by your line department | 3 | 20 | 8 | 64.52 | 74.19 |
| Is impact important to measure | 29 | 0 | 2 | 0.00 | 93.55 |
| Does food security require new indicators to be used by line departments | 27 | 0 | 4 | 0.00 | 87.10 |
| Should proxy indicators for wealth (income & consumption) be developed | 26 | 1 | 4 | 0.05 | 87.10 |
| Should DPPC monitor the impact of EGS | 16 | 10 | 5 | 22.26 | 83.87 |

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|---|-------|-------|
| Should a study on monitoring indicators for rural development be urgently done | 25 | 3 | 3 | 90.32 | 90.32 |
| Would a regional vigilance committee be useful to follow up on EGS implementation | 23 | 3 | 5 | 89.87 | 89.87 |
| Are there sufficient staff mandated to work on EGS planning and Implementation | 2 | 24 | 5 | 83.87 | 83.87 |
| Are you officially mandated to work on EGS according to your job description | 11 | 12 | 8 | 79.19 | 79.19 |
| Should staff be recruited by line departments to follow up on EGS | 22 | 4 | 5 | 83.87 | 83.87 |
| Should the PMO federal ministry be responsible for coordinating the overall programme | 5 | 20 | 6 | 80.65 | 80.65 |
| Should the DPPC federal ministry be responsible for coordinating the overall programme | 7 | 18 | 6 | 80.65 | 80.65 |
| Should the MEDaC federal ministry be responsible for coordinating the overall programme | 13 | 12 | 6 | 80.65 | 80.65 |
| Should the BoA federal ministry be responsible for coordinating the overall programme | 2 | 23 | 6 | 80.65 | 80.65 |
| Should the ERA federal ministry be responsible for coordinating the overall programme | 0 | 25 | 6 | 80.65 | 80.65 |
| Is the role of international NGO important for the implementation of EGS | 27 | 3 | 1 | 96.77 | 96.77 |
| Are NGOs too heavily focused on relief | 17 | 10 | 4 | 87.10 | 87.10 |
| Are NGOs too heavily focused on development | 7 | 18 | 6 | 80.65 | 80.65 |

How could international NGOs more closely support your departments work for EGS

Objectives

| Objectives | Impact Rating | | | | | No of answers |
|---|---------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| | High Answer | % of Total | % of Total | % of Total | % of Total | |
| 1. No human life shall perish for want of assistance in time of disaster | 9 | 29 | 7 | 22 | 10 | 31 |
| 2. Adequate income shall be insured to disaster affected households through relief programmes to give them access to food and other basic necessities | 5 | 16 | 10 | 32 | 11 | 35 |
| 3. The quality of life in the affected areas shall be protected from deterioration on account of disaster | 3 | 10 | 11 | 35 | 12 | 39 |
| 4. Relief effort shall reinforce the capabilities of the affected areas and promote self-reliance | 4 | 13 | 6 | 19 | 14 | 45 |
| 5. Contribution to sustainable economic growth & development shall be given due emphasis in all relief efforts | 4 | 13 | 6 | 19 | 12 | 39 |
| 6. The asset & economic fabric of the affected areas shall be preserved to enable speedy post-disaster recovery | 3 | 10 | 5 | 16 | 16 | 52 |
| 7. Provision of relief shall protect and safeguard human dignity and reinforce the social determination for development | 4 | 13 | 6 | 19 | 13 | 42 |
| 8. Disaster prevention programmes shall be given due emphasis in all spheres of devt. endeavours | 4 | 13 | 8 | 26 | 13 | 42 |
| 9. All endeavours in relief programmes shall be geared to eliminate the root causes of vulnerability to disasters | 4 | 13 | 7 | 23 | 12 | 43 |
| 10. Best use of natural resource-endowment of the areas shall be promoted | 3 | 10 | 6 | 20 | 13 | 43 |

[illegible]

Appendix 9 Study Visit Itinerary

| Date | Activity |
|-------------------------|---|
| Friday 14 th | Arrive Fariyas Hotel – Colaba District Mumbai |

| Date | Activity |
|---------------------------|---|
| Saturday 15 th | Day trip to visit the Elephanta Island off the coast of Mobai. The island is a historic site for religious worship and many pilgrims flock to offer respect and to offer prayer. The evening is free – go and explore the city of Mumbai. |

| Date | Activity |
|-------------------------|---|
| Sunday 16 th | <p>Introduction on arrangements for the study tour, house keeping etc. Review of study material provided, country experiences, Maharashtra EGS Rules Group discussion/suggestions Participants expectations on issues to be covered, preferences, requests, areas of key interests etc.</p> <p>Evening buffet with Maharashtra State EGS Officials at the FARIYAS Hotel. Food and drink will be provided.</p> |

| Date | Activity |
|-------------------------|--|
| Monday 17 th | <p>SEMINAR DAY 1</p> <p>Welcome address by Mr. Peter Middlebrook - EC-LFSU EGS Advisor</p> <p>Key Note Speech Shri Vidhyadhan Kanade, Maharashtra EGS Secretary, head of EGS Department</p> <p>Introduction by Dr. Hansjorg Nuen, LFSU Coordinator</p> <p>FIRST SESSION</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Legal and Policy Environments EGS Objectives for Poverty Alleviation programmes EGS Organisational Structures EGS Resources and Funding <p>SECOND SESSION</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Status of EGS Projects: LRD Poverty Line Demarcation Staffing Procedures Resource Allocation Procedures <p>Closing Discussion and Summary of Key Points</p> |

| | <p><u>Note:</u> The seminars are structured for experience sharing. Discussion to focus on difference in approach and implications for policy and strategy.</p> |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Date | Activity |
| Tuesday 18 th | <p>SEMINAR DAY 2</p> <p>Summary of Day Discussion by Mr. Peter Middlebrook - EC-LFSU.</p> <p>THIRD SESSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Targeting and registration procedures b) Shelf projects and Contingency Plans / Annual Plans c) Sectors and Activities d) FFW and CFW: Critical Analysis <p style="text-align: center;">FORTH SESSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Workers Equity b) On site Work Facilities c) Gender and EGS Issues a) Monitoring and Vigilance <p>Closing discussion and summary of key differences in approach. Initial Conclusions and Recommendations. Final arrangements for the study tour</p> <p>Formation of Four Study Groups. Each group will document the fundamental issues studied in each of the above sessions and after the field trip, papers will be presented at the final seminar</p> <p><u>Note:</u> Discussion to focus on difference in approach and implications for policy and strategy.</p> |

| Date | Activity |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Wednesday 19 th | <p><u>FIELD TRIP TO NASIK (200 Kms)</u></p> <p>The field trip will start with a visit the city of Nasik some 200 Kms from Mumbai. Upon arrival, we will visit the local EGS offices and meet all key programme informants. The day will be spent reviewing the local structures for the programmes and site visits to old and ongoing EGS works.</p> <p>EGS projects to be visited include irrigation, horticulture, soil and water conservation and road works implemented through EGS. We will discuss with EGS Workers to explore their experiences.</p> <p>The evening will be spent in Mumbai at a local hotel which is being arranged.</p> |

| Date | Activity |
|----------|-------------------------------------|
| Thursday | FIELD TRIP TO NAGAR (100kms) |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 20 th | <p>We will continue to reach the town on Nagar and visit similar EGS offices to focus on the structure, staff management, project cycle approaches to EGS.</p> <p>Field visits will be conducted around Nagar depending upon the specific interest of the group but all projects focus on productive EGS works.</p> <p>Depart Nagar for Aurangabad</p> <p>Arrive Aurangabad and check in to hotel</p> |
|------------------|---|

| Date | Activity |
|--|---|
| Friday 21 st and Saturday 22 nd | <p>FIELD TRIP IN AURANGABAD</p> <p>Aurangabad, will become the base for detailed exploration of EGS strategic and practical elements and study groups will be given ample opportunity to contrast the Ethiopian and Indian approaches.</p> <p>Sectors will be visited at the request of participants but should focus on main areas such as food supply and demand related projects.</p> |

| Date | Activity |
|-------------------------|---|
| Sunday 23 rd | <p><u>RETURN TO MOMBAI (400 Kms)</u></p> <p>Departure to Mumbai.</p> <p>The return trip to Mumbai will take a little over 6 hrs and upon arrival the evening will be free.</p> |

| Date | Activity |
|-------------------------|--|
| Monday 24 th | <p>SEMINAR DAY 3</p> <p>Summary of Field Trip Experiences</p> <p>FIFTH SESSION</p> <p>Presentation by Group 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Legal and Policy Environments b) EGS Objectives for Poverty Alleviation programmes c) EGS Organisational Structures d) EGS Resources and Funding e) Status of EGS Projects: LRD f) Poverty Line Demarcation |

| | |
|--|--|
| | <p>g) Staffing Procedures</p> <p>h) Resource Allocation Procedures</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SIXTH SESSION</p> <p>a) Targeting and registration</p> <p>b) Shelf Projects/Contingency Plans</p> <p>c) Sectors and Activities</p> <p>d) FFW and CFW</p> <p>e) Workers Equity</p> <p>f) On Site Work Facilities</p> <p>g) Gender and EGS: Key Issues</p> <p>h) Monitoring and Vigilance</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Closing Session: Main Conclusions and Recommendations, Next Steps Closing Dinner and Drinks: Hotel Fariyas</p> |
|--|--|

| Date | Activity |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Tuesday 25 th | Depart for Addis Ababa |

Appendix 10 Speech of Maharashtra Minister for EGS

Dear Distinguished Guests,

I am very much delighted that the Ethiopia has taken keen interest in the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra. On behalf of Government of Maharashtra, I am pleased to welcome the Ethiopian Delegation to Mumbai.

Particularly in Seventies, Maharashtra was facing the same problems as Ethiopia is facing today, recurrence of scarcity conditions, failure of crops resulting in large scale poverty and unemployment and ultimately affecting rural economy. The great Gandhian, Late Shri V.S. Page visualised the need for organising idle labour power available in such a way that the labourers will get the work and the rural area can be developed with productive assets. With this foresight, EGS, with the integrated area development approach was launched in the year 1972. The twin objectives were to provide unskilled manual work to labourers in rural areas in the State of Maharashtra and to engage them on such type of works so as to create durable assets for the benefit of the community and the economy.

Further the State Government provided statutory support to guarantee of employment through the enactment of Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Act 1977. The act makes effective provision for securing the right to work as laid down in article 41 of the Constitution of India by guaranteeing employment to all adult persons who volunteer to do unskilled manual work in rural areas of the State of Maharashtra. The Maharashtra is the only State in India to give guarantee of job to unskilled labourers by enacting such an Act.

Resources for this scheme have been raised from the employees, businessmen, traders and other better off classes of society by way of taxes and Govt. of Maharashtra also contributes its share in equal amount. The affluent who have adequate taxable capacity have been made to shoulder the burden of resources required for EGS.

The work on demand is provided within 7 days in the vicinity of village generally in the Panchayat Samit area. The works are so organised and taken up that the recurrence of scarcity conditions will be minimised and drinking water shortages will overcome. Therefore, comprehensive watershed development approach is kept in mind while planning the works. For this, main thrust is on water conservation, water storage works such as percolation tank, minor irrigation tanks, nalabund etc. To have good accessibility in rural areas, village road works are also taken up. A delicate balance is maintained while initiating EGS works so that agricultural operations are not hampered.

In the acute scarcity conditions during the year 1973, the labour attendance was 47 lakh per day. Now it has come down to an average of 2 lakh labourers per day although the population has doubled since 1973 to 1998. This itself shows the great achievement of EGS in Maharashtra, the durable assets created through EGS. The plan works have helped in increasing intensity of agriculture and thus absorbing excess labour on farm

operations. This achievement, is certainly due to the great work done by the EGS labourers in the State.

The labourers are given wages equal to the minimum wages prescribed for the agricultural labourers. Wages are equal for both men and women labourers. Presently, they are getting average wage of Rs.40/- per day. Labourers are provided with amenities like crèches, drinking water, first aid etc.

Up until now, 11,000 percolation tanks, 2000 small village tanks, 90,000 kms road length is completed, 18,000 afforestation works and 2 lakh soil conservation works have also been completed. Since 1990, Govt. has changed the policy and also started individual beneficiary schemes under EGS such as Jawahar Wells Schemes and Horticulture scheme. Both these schemes are fully subsidised schemes. With the implementation of these schemes, small farmers will improve the capacity and the burden on EGS will be reduced. Both these schemes have huge employment potential for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. During the last five years, 100,000 wells have been sanctioned and nearly one million ha. of horticulture plantation has been done. Under horticulture scheme, fruit crops like mango, cashew nut, oranges, pomegranates are planted.

Govt. is spending currently to the tune of Rs.470 crores per annum under EGS, out of which nearly 30% amount is spent on individual beneficiary scheme.

You will gain good experience and information during your field visits. I wish your study tour all success and we hope to learn from you so as to constantly improve and upgrade our EGS. I hope your stay in Mumbai is comfortable and that my officials are extending all possible co-operation to you.

I now formally declare this seminar open.

Jai Hind Jai Maharashtra
May 17th 1999

Appendix 11 Key Informants for Study Visits

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. H.E. Shobhia Phadinis | Minister for EGS | |
| Mombai | | |
| 2. H.E. B.S. Patil | Minister of State for EGS | Mombai |
| 3. Shri P.B Pawar | C.E. and J.S. Planning Dep't | Mombai |
| 4. Shri Vitthal Bhasker | Planning Department | Mombai |
| 5. Shri Ravindra Sule | Director Social Forestry | Pune |
| 6. Shri Ashok Sharma | J.S. /Rural Development | Mumbai |
| 7. Dr. Suryawanshi | O.S.D. / | Amaravati |
| 8. Dr. Lavekar | Director of Horticulture | Pune |
| 9. Dr. K.K. Khatu | Economist | Mombai |
| 10. Shri Wankhede | Director SWC | Pune |
| 11. Shri S.A. Jayawant | Under Secretary, Plan. Dep't | Mombai |
| 12. Shri Jyoti Potcher | Under Secretary, Plan. Dep't | Mombai |
| 13. Shri R.Y Penkar | C.E. Irrigation Dep't | Pune |
| 14. Shri B.T. Tombat | Assistant Conserver Forests | Akole Region |
| 15. Shri Ambre | Range Forest Officer | Akole Region |
| 16. Shri S.D. Supekar | Sub/Div Agricultural Officer | Ahamad Nagar |
| 17. Shri B.N. Musmade | Taluka Agricultural Officer | Ahamad Nagar |
| 18. Shri Gaiwad | Agricultural Officer | Ahamad Nagar |
| 19. Shri Prahad Patil | Sub division Officer | Ahamad Nagar |
| 20. Shri Ashok Patil | Tahsildar | Ahamad Nagar |
| 21. Shri M.K. Pokle | Executive Engineer/Irrigation | Ahamad Nagar |
| 22. Shri Sesame | Deputy Commissioner (EGS) | Aurangabad |
| 23. Shri Khute | Deputy Collector | Aurangabad |
| 24. Shri Shaha | Executive Engineer (EGS) | Aurangabad |
| 25. Shri Jalkote | Executive Engineer P.W.D. | Aurangabad |
| 26. Shri Revangave | Executive Engineer//Irrigation | Aurangabad |
| 27. Shri Polke | District Sub Agricultural Officer | Aurangabad |
| 28. Shri Vishnu Kokate | Taluka Agricultural Officer | Aurangabad |
| 29. Shri S.S. Pube | Agricultural Officer | Aurangabad |
| 30. Shri Fahim Ahemad | Agricultural Officer | Aurangabad |
| 31. Shri P.T. Sairai | Taluka | Khetabad |
| 32. Shri Ravangave | E.E. | Khetabad |
| 33. Shri Salumkhe | Section E. | Khetabad |
| 34. Shri Takhore | Deputy Director/Social Forestry | Aurangabad |
| 35. Shri Prahad Yadav | Deputy Collector (EGS) | Ahemad Nagar |
| 36. Mr. D.P. Vayktesh | Deputy Engineer | Nashik |
| 37. Mr. Dighe | Agricultural Officer | Nashik |
| 38. Shri Manoj Sonik | District Collector | Nashik |
| 39. Shri Shyom Sonik | CEO | Nashik |
| 40. Shri Kasar | Collector EGS | Nashik Division |
| 41. Shri Nasvade | Officer on Special Duty | Nashik |
| 42. Shri Dayama | D/Director, Social Forestry | Nashik |
| 43. Shri Peshmure | Superintendent Ag. Officer | Nashik |
| 44. Shri Vivek | Sub-division Officer | Mohaden |
| 45. Shri Arvind | Block Development Officer | Mohaden |
| 46. Shri Davkhuse | Section Enginners | Mohaden |
| 47. Shri D.P. Chowdhoney | Section Engineer | Mohaden |
| 48. Shri Fahim Ahemad | Ass. Forestry Officer | Aurangabad |
| 49. Shri Jalkote | PWD | Aurangabad |
| 50. Shri Ravangore | E.E. Local | Aurangabad |
| 51. Shri Shaha | E.E. Collectors Office | Aurangabad |

Appendix 12 Scatter Graphs
Scattergraph: Relationship of Pressure to Adopt Policy / Guidelines and Degree of Latitude

Name: _____ Position: _____ Organisation: _____

High Pressure to Adopt NPDPM/EGS Guidelines

| Low Latitude to Make Amendments | | High Latitude to Make Amendments | |
|---------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| | | | |
| | | | |

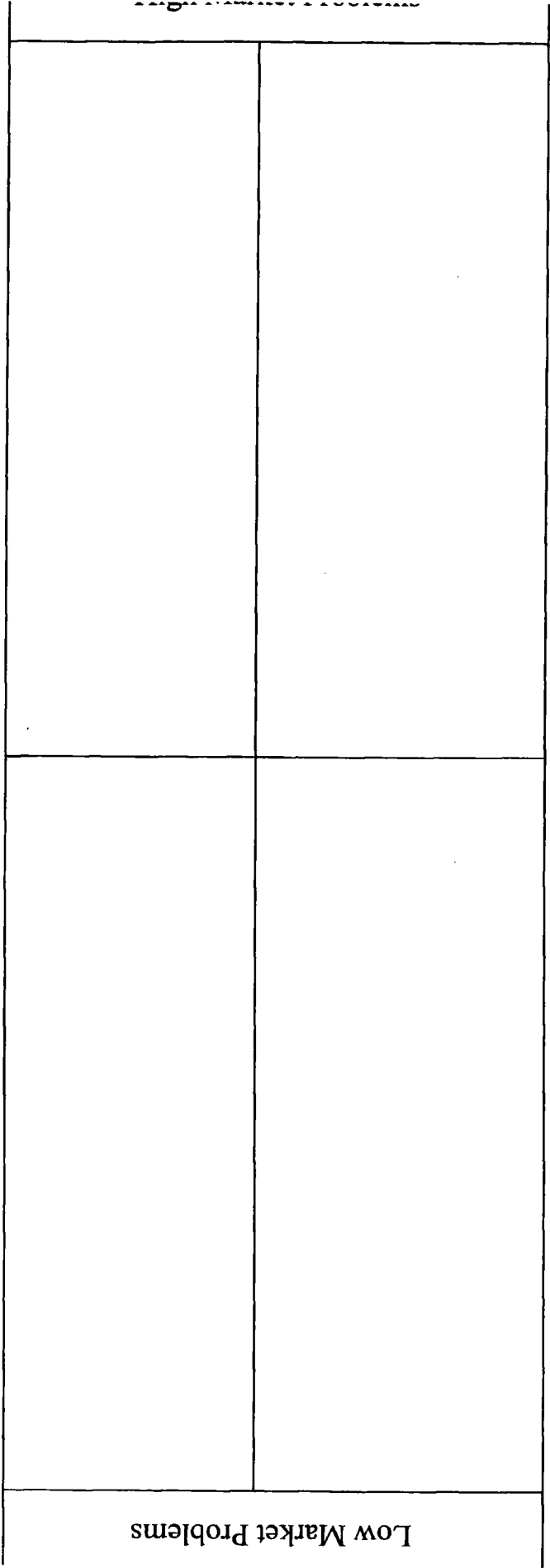
Low Pressure to Adopt NPDPM/EGS

●-----→●
Innovation

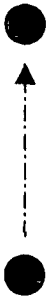
(E) = Federally Developed Innovation (L) = regionally Developed

Scattergraph: Preference Ranking Exercise: FFW and CFW Preferences

Preference For Cash



Preference For Food

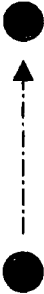


Scattergraph: Preference Ranking Exercise: Self or Administrative Targeting

Preference For Self Targeting

| Insufficient Knowledge | | Sufficient Knowledge | |
|------------------------|--|----------------------|--|
| | | | |
| | | | |

Preference For Administrative Targeting



Appendix 13 Phases of the Watershed Development

Phase One: Integrated Micro Watershed Planning: The first phase is to undertake micro watershed land use planning in the selected watersheds so as to identify areas for physical and biological conservation, irrigation development, command area development, economic infrastructure. The selection criteria developed under the EGS programme for the micro watersheds are presented in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5 Criteria for the Selection of Micro Watersheds under EGS Planning

| | |
|----------|---|
| A | Agro-climatic Data: |
| a) | Predominance of rainfed farming; |
| b) | Hill region; |
| c) | Extent of natural resource degradation (watershed areas with alarming soil erosion level, forest destruction etc.); |
| d) | Low rainfall region |
| B | Infrastructure Data: |
| a) | Extent of area under major/medium irrigation; |
| b) | Extent of villages without drinking water facilities; |
| c) | Availability of services such as credit, grinding mill etc.; |
| d) | Irrigated land negligible |
| C | Socio-economic Data: |
| a) | % of female headed households; |
| b) | productivity of major crops; |
| c) | access to health and education institutions; |
| d) | nutritional status of children and duration where there is food shortage; |
| e) | number of households receiving food assistance; |
| f) | access to road; |
| g) | existence of NGOs, bilateral and multilateral agencies; |
| h) | disabilities among the economically active members of the community; |
| i) | potential of the areas for various development projects (Agriculture, mining etc.); |
| j) | estimated rate of morbidity and mortality among women and children (vulnerability of children and women to various diseases); |
| k) | average land and livestock holding per household; |
| l) | the magnitude of male out migration and % of families out migrating; |
| m) | absence of additional (off-farm) such as remittance, daily labour etc. |
| D | Other Data and Information |
| a) | Size of watershed and availability of land |
| b) | Yields of major crops |
| c) | If possible, the watershed in one PA |
| d) | Population density |
| e) | No other donor-aided watershed project in the area |
| f) | Community interest and previous interventions (e.g. areas where there is a micro dam) |

Source: Middlebrook, P (1999) Micro Watershed Selection Criteria in Tigray,

In contrast with other EGS related interventions, although more in line with the work of WFP and REST, the selection of micro watershed areas to be developed under EGS is exceptional. The development of these criteria, enables detailed watershed plans (large plan views of the micro-watershed showing the phased development of all aspects over a phased period) to be developed by a multidisciplinary and participatory approach. The aim is to develop a comprehensive integrated land use plan showing the short, medium and long term development approach to be adopted to allow a resource focus not just on conservation, but on a range of productivity measures. The land use plans should be thematically based and give a visual overview of the temporal development of the micro watershed.

Phase Two: Micro Watershed Rehabilitation Using Labour Intensive Methods: Rehabilitation clearly focuses on protecting existing natural resources through the approach already adopted in the region and best seen in areas such as Atsbi Wemberta involving the WFP LLPP approach. Where physical works are needed priorities are given to stone trenches where appropriate, however, continuous contour trenching, forestry and tree planting, drainage line treatment (including earth bunds, stone bunds, loose boulders, pond structures etc.). Special attention is also given to diversifying present biological approaches such as introducing hedges, grasses such as vetiver to partition smallholdings and mitigate wind erosion. Fruit trees etc. are also be introduced more in line with an agroforestry approach. Observation wells will monitor increases in ground water recharge.

Phase Three: Productivity Growth and Productivity Diversification: One of the basic rehabilitation activities to be accomplished the conserved ground water needs to be tapped either through the construction of percolation dams or through the development on farm shallow wells. Diversification profiles will be developed to further explore options for generating rates of return greater than currently achieved under cereal production to include a wide diversity of horticultural production, some for immediate consumption and the remaining to be marketed. Some areas might usefully be turned over for fruit production and can be marketed either locally or inter-regionally. The utilisation of ground water and surface runoff is a critical component of the programme and vital for exploiting the benefits of conservation for productivity purposes. Only through productivity growth and diversification can vulnerability be reduced.

Phase Four: Extension and Socio-economic Support Services: Instead of developing extension packages (which are supply driven solutions) alternative demand driven extension support should be geared to maximising productivity and income based on the specificity of household choice. Extension support should provide a range of seed and seedling options to households. If the periphery of each small holding is planted with multi-purpose seedlings (or with Beles - a kind of social forestry approach) then production periods can extend beyond the rain fed season and harvests of different produce can be made throughout the year. In many parts of the world, horticultural development, not smallholder cereal production, lies at the heart of the poverty alleviation strategy and this has been acknowledged under both the REST and TNRS EGS programme. Accordingly, the phases so far described (land use planning, Rehabilitation, productivity growth) need to be integrated over time so that land-owners can for the first time extract, on a sustainable basis, meaningful changes in livelihoods. In

developmental language, households can only transcend the poverty line when profits are extracted through their own capabilities and further more productive investments can be made. EGS plays a key role, both in terms of providing channels for relief assistance to be productively used.

Phase Five: Secondary Service Support: Marketing support options are being advance to include community storage support options. Additional support for the extension of the rural road network and development of producer co-operatives needs to be realised. Road structures would prove to be marketing lifelines for smallholder horticultural producers coordinated in the form of producer co-operatives. Such groups can market wholesale produce at farm gate prices to traders and guarantee stable prices. Other micro watershed complimentary activities would need to include literacy programs, construction of safe water supply, the promotion of energy saving devices and of community health services for example.

To reach the final stages of development for such degraded areas depends on a number of factors related to resources availability, capacity at all levels and the size of the micro watersheds etc. The range of activities falling under this approach is large, certainly when compared to activities currently funded under WFP, SCF and even the REST interventions. Accordingly, as one would expect, and the role of a co-ordinating institution, to co-ordinate between sectors is vital for the success of such as initiative.